THE LIFE OF
LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL

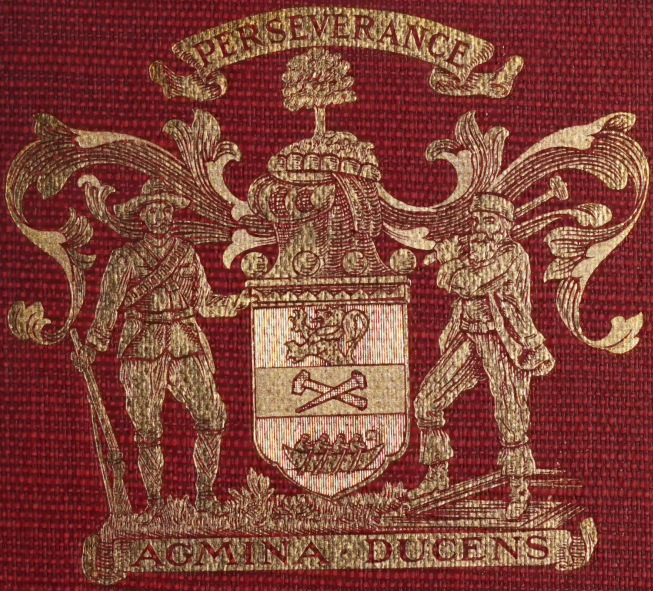
By

Beckles Willson

¶ It would be hard to find in fiction a narrative as picturesque or interesting as Beckles Willson's account of this emigrant lad who became governor of the Hudson Bay Company, Peer of the British realm, and one of the great world figures of the nineteenth century.

¶ These two volumes tell, often in Strathcona's own words, of thrilling adventures among the Indians and trappers of the great wilderness, of the bitter feuds of the fur traders, of the Red River uprising, of the coming of the railroads and boom days in the Northwest, of dealings with James J. Hill and other Americans, and of the making of modern Canada.

¶ Both as a great human document and as an inner history of Canada's spectacular development, this authorized biography will rank as one of the really notable books of the decade.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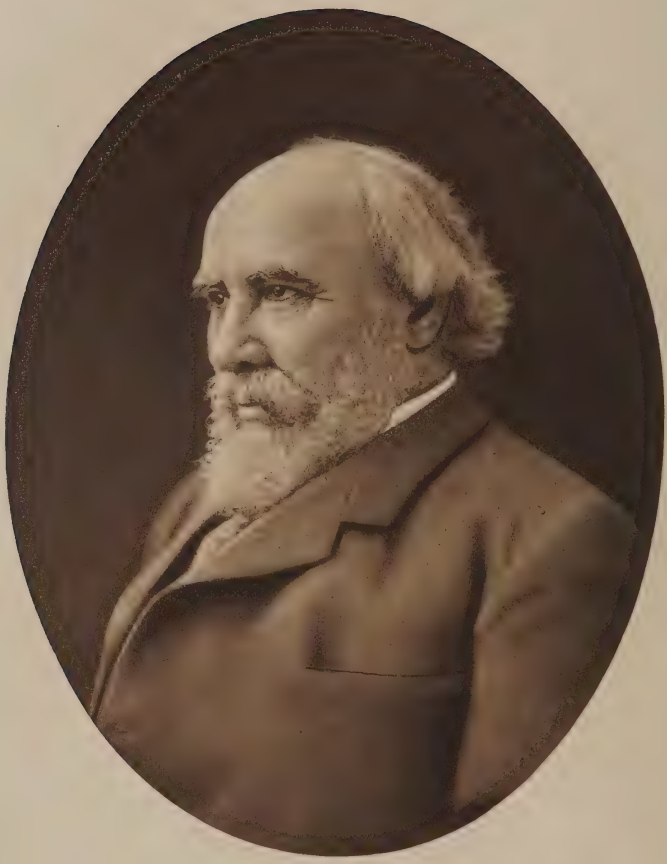
THE LIFE OF LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL

IN
TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II



James J. Hill

THE LIFE OF
LORD STRATHCONA
AND
MOUNT ROYAL
G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

By BECKLES WILLSON

AUTHOR OF "THE GREAT FUR COMPANY"
"THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF JAMES WOLFE," ETC.

VOLUME II

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Let not the seethe of this rude, hasting hour,
And the mad moment's futile, petty span
Thrust into dull Oblivion's vasty black
All memory of this man
Who ever stood for Empire's widening dream,
. . . . . .
Whose whole strong, failure-conquering life
Was one rebuke, forever calling men
From coward despair, effeminate doubts and fears
To those firm highways of the great ones gone.

WILFRED CAMPBELL.

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The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal

CHAPTER XVI

THE WINTERING PARTNERS

1874–1889

REFLECTING upon the achievements of what might almost be called the apostolic succession of the fur-trade, one is inclined to agree with the dictum that throughout the British Empire Providence raises up men of a special breed to carry on great and special work. In the North-West and Hudson's Bay Company's services, like that of the East India Company (on a larger scale), for some two centuries men were needed able to acquire the habit of command and to develop responsibility. Their characters were formed amidst constant familiarity with danger, and they had to face, as one of them has said, "the occasional, and sometimes frequent, necessity, perhaps under even desperate circumstances, of rapid exercise of tact and sound judgment in coming to a safe conclusion when life and property were often staked on an immediate decision."

Although Mr. Smith resigned as Chief Commissioner of the Company's fur-trade, as we have just seen, in 1874, to become Land Commissioner, yet he never ceased to take a deep personal interest in the service in which he had then spent thirty-six years of his life. The Company had changed, its political principles of trade had altered almost beyond recognition; but the little loyal, far-flung legion of fur-traders, of the lineage of the old, still remained. Amongst themselves practical unity was well-nigh impossible; it became more and more, therefore, the policy of the London Board through their instrument (usually, as I have before remarked, one who knew nothing about the fur-trade), to keep them sundered. Reasons of sentiment, rather than of commercial profit, kept Donald A. Smith in their ranks, or rather, in the van. More and more, no matter who happened to be in power, they looked to him for leadership. His commercial and industrial interests grew; had he consulted these alone he would, as he said himself, have "bade farewell to the fur-trade." But he would as soon have severed his right arm as cut himself off from the old Company of Adventurers of the North. He had resigned barely six months when we find him writing: —

To Chief Factor Archibald McDonald

January, 1875.

Without strict economy in every part of the business and retrenchment in outfits, officers, men and posts, in every item to the lowest possible degree, divi-

dends cannot be expected. Indents[1] beyond what the resources of the district can produce must be checked.

It is the wisest and most prudent policy to reduce the outfits to the real requirements of the trade and cut off all unnecessary luxuries and useless trash that are of no beneficial use for men or Indians, but increasing the discontent and diversion to buy and impoverish themselves for what they do not really require, and which conduce in no wise to increase their comfort, content, or happiness; every additional unnecessary item added to the outfit increases the amount of cost price. The difficulty of freighting in such large bulky outfits, as well as the very heavy cost of freight, must always be borne in mind.

Amongst the letters of the officers to one another there are many tributes to Mr. Smith. One from a veteran who had known him over thirty years I cannot forbear quoting: —

Inspecting Chief Factor Hamilton to Chief Factor MacFarlane

CARLTON HOUSE, 11th August, 1875.

On reaching Carlton from the Grand Rapids, I was not a little disappointed to find that Council had been held and the new Chief Commissioner off to Red River. I presume, however, that he had reasons of his own for being so precipitate, and under existing circumstances I don't think he cared much to meet with his Inspecting Factor, who might perhaps have told him some truths that he would not care to have recorded on his tombstone when he goes hence.

[1] Orders for merchandise.

When under the command of Mr. Smith, I knew precisely what duties I had to perform, and my authority was well and clearly defined, so that every gentleman in that section of territory committed to my supervision was aware that with me and through me only could any business be transacted.

I had heard so much of Mr. G———, during his reign at Norway House, that I was fearful I would not be able to serve under him either with comfort to myself or benefit to the Company, but determined to make a fair trial and see how matters would get on. The trial has now been made, and has proved so unsatisfactory that I have made up my mind to leave the old service in which I have spent upwards of thirty years of my life, and have requested permission to retire next first of June.

For the large dividends we have already received since reorganization, we have to thank a man of a very different stamp from Mr. G———. I knew at the time that we sustained a great loss when Mr. Smith resigned his position as Chief Commissioner of the old Company we have all served in from boyhood, but I did not think that we should feel the effect so soon. Mr. Smith was a gentleman in every sense of the word, respected by his friends and feared by his opponents; for he has wonderful talents.

I am one of those who believe that a man can be thoroughly strict in all business matters and still hold the respect and esteem of those with whom he is thrown in contact.

To Mr. Smith the officers were wont to express their opinions with great freedom.

An Officer's Pessimism

From Chief Factor W. McMurray

Isle à la Crosse, 5th May, 1875.

You like myself have doubtless heard the opinion expressed that the Canadian Government, as far at least as the North-West Territories are concerned, is a failure. What benefit, protection, or aid do we poor devils in these parts derive from being subjects of the Dominion? If this country had belonged to the Stars and Stripes since 1870, we would not find ourselves to-day in the position we are. As it is, our isolation is only a mild form of banishment.

With regard to the last year's promotions, it does certainly look as if those who have "to bear the heat and burden of the day" are overlooked, and only those at headquarters and prominent places brought on. In saying this I do not for a moment wish to apply the remark to myself. I have got my Chief Factorship, and never expected or aspired to a higher grade in the service. It was not likely that their Honours would give an Inspecting Chief Factorship to one who, from the first, never failed, when he had a chance of doing so, of advocating the rights of the officers in the country and of stating his opinions, crude as they may have been, in a plain, straightforward manner.

We get an occasional glimpse of what the difficulties of transport were in the "seventies" before the advent of the railways.

From Chief Trader W. Clark

Carlton, 1875.

The Chief Commissioner, his son, Mr. Archibald McDonald, and Mr. R. Campbell, arrived here on

Friday the ninth day from Fort Garry. The roads beyond Fort Ellice were fearfully bad, one continued swamp, and flies were in millions by the way. Their second and third day, they passed bands of freighters, who had been already a month on the way with their loaded teams, and will be a month more before they will reach this far.

Steam navigation of the rivers, which had been introduced during Mr. Smith's régime, offered many difficulties.

From Chief Factor Alexander Matheson

PAS, CUMBERLAND DISTRICT,
11th January, 1875.

I have sent you, officially, the whole history of the new river steamer. She came back from Carlton all safe, though experiencing much more difficulty coming downstream than in going up. It is a delicate task to steer a huge leviathan like the *Northcote* in stony, crooked rapids; and it is the opinion of those pretending to have any knowledge of the subject that there can't be certainty of final success until some boulders or other obstacles in the Nepowin and Coal Falls Rapids are removed. The steamer is now in winter quarters at Grand Rapids with the captain watching her, and putting up buildings for warehouse purposes at each end of the portage.

Nothing came of either of the proposals touched upon in the following letter: —

Chief Factor Hamilton to Chief Factor MacFarlane

CARLTON, July, 1875.

There is a report current that our old governor, Mr. Smith, is to be appointed first Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Territories, but I am not prepared to say how much truth there may be in the rumour. One thing I do believe and that is that the Dominion Government would be very glad to get hold of Mr. Smith and I am inclined to think that the position has already been offered to him.

You are, I presume, aware that the Dominion Government have expressed a desire to get possession of the one-twentieth of the land which the Company are to receive in the fertile belt and it is generally supposed that the Premier, Mr. Mackenzie, is now at home on that business.

If the Company do come to terms with the Dominion Government, I think it not at all unlikely Mr. Smith will accept the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West, but if not, he may retain his position as the Company's land representative.

From Chief Factor A——— B———

EDMONTON, 24th December, 1875.

The trouble and expense we have incurred of late years in introducing steam on the Saskatchewan. I wrote you in September, 1874, of the successful trip made by the *Northcote*. I exulted in the idea that all our trouble was at an end, and that we were on the eve of seeing our business placed on a sure basis. But what benefit have we derived from all our work and great expenditure? It makes me fairly mad when I think

that, through the blundering stupidity of one man, the work of several years should have been rendered fruitless. Mr. G——— has managed, or rather I should say has grossly mismanaged, our business during the past season, and the *Northcote*, on her return from Edmonton to the Grand Rapids, had to lie at that place from the 5th August to the 4th September, waiting cargo from Red River. The consequence was that the *Northcote* could only make one trip to Carlton and is now passing the winter in the vicinity of that post. When a thorough mess of our steamboat business had been made, Mr. G——— gave orders for sending the western outfits across land by way of Carlton, and four hundred carts had to be at once engaged for that purpose, which cost the Company a pretty sum. This, however, is but one item of the expense and loss which the trade must sustain. For instance, the residue of the outfit for the post of Edmonton will cost a big amount for freight up from Carlton at this season, as men cannot be induced to travel under double the usual freight price.

Mr. Hardisty had an examination made last summer of the country lying between here and the elbow of the Athabasca River, when, I am happy to say, an excellent route for a cart road was discovered.

When I left Slave Lake, Mr. Young was on the point of starting for the Peace River for the purpose of searching for a cart route through that section.

Mr. Smith himself could sympathize with the *laudator temporis acti* spirit amongst the older adventurers.

Former Trading recalled

From Chief Factor Robert Campbell

Fort Garry, 7th March, 1876.

I do not at all concur with ———'s opinion that the Company (in our time) have underpaid the Indians and that a curse is now falling on the Company. The Indians will never be so well off, comfortable, or happy, as when under the Company's care and trading alone. There never will be again such men and Indians for vigour, ability, and ready obedience for every duty, service, and instruction in Mackenzie River and Athabasca as they were before the introduction of such trash among them, and the men [servants] all saved their hard earnings for the future rainy days.

It was a treat to see men work on the passage in those days. All strong, healthy, and active, and at camping or meal times, not a tea-kettle was seen on the fire but the "Master's." They were happier, more contented, and healthy with their one or two pounds of tea per annum than now if they had a whole chest of tea each.

A new grade — that of "Inspecting Chief Factor" — had been introduced: —

From Chief Factor W. McMurray [1]

Isle à la Crosse, 3d April, 1876.

You will be surprised to learn that I have not yet signed the covenant and am therefore not virtually an Inspecting Chief Factor. I wrote the Chief Commis-

[1] Mr. McMurray was famous for his facility in the Saulteau and Chipewyan languages. He was also an excellent shot and among the most experienced winter travellers of his time.

sioner, both officially and under private cover, thanking him and the Honourable Board for their proof of their confidence in me, but at the same time informed the Chief Commissioner that I would sign the covenant only after I had met him at Carlton, and received from him the proper explanations regarding several matters connected with the position of Inspecting Chief Factor.

You who know me are aware that I am not an arrogant or dictatorial person, nor one likely to make an abuse of any little power that may be given me; on the other hand, you will, I think, admit that I have enough of self-esteem and manly pride (not vanity) not to allow myself to be placed in a false position. The position of Inspecting Chief Factor may, by some, be considered a *great honour*, but for me, it never had, and never will have, any attraction, unless the grade gives me some discretionary powers, and thereby enables me to do some good.

There is a touch of pathos in the following: —

From Chief Factor Robert Hamilton

CARLTON, 29th May, 1876.

A very few days more and my connection with the concern in which the greatest part of my life has been spent will have ceased, but believe me, that whatever my lot may be in future, I shall always feel a deep interest in the Company in which I have spent so many happy days, and in which I leave behind so many esteemed and valued friends. Between you and me there has been no cloud during a friendship of over thirty years.

It is pleasant to add that this officer was persuaded to remain for a few seasons longer in the service.

To Chief Factor William Charles

23d August, 1876.

The following is the result of the Company's sale in London the other day. Do not let the foxes slip from you and I would give your outposts instructions to that effect, especially at Fraser's Lake and Babines.

Sale, August, 1876, as compared with the sale for Outfit, 1875: —

Beavers	declined	5	per cent
Musquash	"	15	" "
Marten	"	12½	" "
Mink	"	25	" "
And Otter	advanced	17½	" "
Silver Foxes	"	50	" "
Foxes Cross	"	25	" "

Bear and Lynx remained unchanged and I presume those other furs not mentioned.

From K. McDonald

Rampart House, 10th January, 1877.

In my last letter to you I said that I hoped to be able to tell you more about the American fur-traders on the Yukon when I next wrote you. Instead of abandoning the Yukon, they seem determined to carry on the trade more vigorously than ever. Mr. McQuestin and McNiff are still at Fort Yukon and Mayo is at the post up the river occupied by McQuestin two years ago. They have a better supply of goods than ever and have raised the prices of furs; e.g., 15 M.B.[1]

[1] Made (i.e., dressed) beaver.

for a black fox, 10 for a cross fox, 3 for a marten, and 2 for a beaver. A great deal is given away *gratis* to the Indians. To the chiefs 100 M.B. is given *gratis*, and in addition, tea, flour, ammunition, and tobacco. McQuestin had runners among some of the Indians before the snow fell and he himself was out amongst them in the month of November, but the Indians proved staunch to the Hudson's Bay Company and traded none of their furs with him.

The wintering partners came slowly, but surely, to realize that they had been for a second time used as a cat's-paw for what the writer of the next letter calls a "crowd of grasping, howling shareholders." But what could they do? One of the ablest of the Chief Factors, Roderick MacFarlane, had come boldly forward with a plan for an equal division of profits with the London capitalists. Alas, it was too late! Besides, still reasoned many of the veterans, what *was* the good of lands — even in such a centre as Winnipeg? The opinion of such a veteran as Chief Factor W. L. Christie is illuminating: —

From Chief Factor Christie

Fort Garry, 13th January, 1877.

The wintering partners have actually had no power since 1872. These lands are wonderful things on paper, I dare say; but I know that the most valuable part of the Fort Garry reserve has been a loss so far, eating itself up with taxes. There is a dead set against the Hudson's Bay Company and they will eventually be taxed out of the country. What do you think of the

THE LEADING WINTERING PARTNERS OF THE
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY, 1871–78

assessment of Fort Garry trade goods only being placed at $350,000. They place our inventories at what value they choose and we have no appeal. The Hudson's Bay Company cannot gain a case in the courts here because the Chief Justice is against them; the result is we support the corporation with our taxes. We are the only moneyed institution to-day and consequently the only ones who pay.

I look now for no future in this service. It is too overburdened with capital, and profits seem to be on the decrease from opposition and other causes. An increase of the capital of the Company is under consideration. This looks rather bad, for the same profits will have only to be divided between a greater number and consequently less per cent for each. Of course this only affects the shareholders, but must eventually make itself felt on the whole business. Expenditures are increasing enormously, and these steamers are enough to sink any concern. Added to this the smallpox now raging around Lake Winnipeg, among the Indians and Icelanders, will prevent whatever furs are collected in that quarter from being shipped next season. Then the Labrador ship with full cargo has been wrecked and all hands lost, save one sailor. These adversities are all telling on the profits. I probably take a rather gloomy view of it all; still there is no doubt that the old machine is getting a little unhinged. Of course, a company trading for two hundred years and making profits and paying its shareholders regularly a good interest cannot be thrown out of gear for some time; but gradually symptoms of decay show themselves, which eventually disorganize the whole body.

There certainly was a crisis in the fur-trade and some of the leading officers again threatened to band themselves together to fight the London Company.

From the Honourable D. A. Smith, M.P.

FORT GARRY, 21st September, 1877.

Try and reduce your expenses, follow up an economical system of trade, and do not buy furs in Athabasca at a higher price than they are realizing in England, or any market in Europe. The price of furs is still falling at home, but I have great hopes that they will rise soon. I expect to be in London to the November meeting of the shareholders and will do all I can for my friends in the North. I intend to have a talk and explain matters to the directors.

From Chief Factor William Charles

VICTORIA, B.C., 31st October, 1877.

I have just heard of the result of the Company's last sales in August. What are we coming to? I do not think the fur-trade can ever go back to what it was a few years since. We cannot go on receiving nothing for our pay year after year. Unless matters mend, it would be as well for us to be either placed on the retired list or leave at once.

I have such a load of responsibility. However, the old can die, which will make room for those that remain.

The best paying branch of our business over here is the steamer *Enterprise*, plying between Victoria and New Westminster. She has been clearing for some

years back, about £20,000 per annum. The trade is increasing and another boat is required to retain the trade and do the business. Hence a difficulty between us here and the London people, who do not wish to augment their capital. On the other hand, if we don't do something to help ourselves, others will. The public are clamouring for a better boat for winter especially, and so the matter stands. There is every possibility that the Cariboo country will come rightside-up in her quartz-crushing developments, several of them turning out very rich lately. Our Factor, Mr. Ross, writes: "The quartz here reports rich from $12.75 to $90 per ton. We may expect lively times here as soon as crushing machinery goes to work, owing to the people here being so scarce of cash. It will I think take all next summer to get the first mill to work. Quartz is all the talk here. Harper, the Government expert, says we have the richest country in the world here. We must wait a while to see."

Mr. Smith himself continued little satisfied but unable to achieve much for his late colleagues: —

To Chief Factor Rankin

MONTREAL, 2d January, 1878.

I go to England next week, and while there will likely see the members of the Board, who I have no doubt, having the interests of the shareholders and officers at heart, will consent to make such arrangements as will place the business on a more satisfactory footing in respect of emoluments than it has been since Outfit 1874.

From Chief Factor Alexander Matheson

Grand Rapids, 10th January, 1878.

The letter advising us of the Board's makeshift scheme for tiding over the crisis temporarily is respectfully acknowledged, and referred for our answer to our attorneys. Now is the opportunity we have been waiting for so long, and it is to be hoped we shall all prove faithful to ourselves. The alarm of the Board indicated by the proposals set forth in the Chief Commissioner's letter of the 18th of December shows that we have only to keep together to insure entire success, and I hope all in the North are animated by the same spirit which moves us.

To Mr. Smith all the wintering partners again turned to negotiate some more satisfactory terms with the London shareholders "calling themselves the Hudson's Bay Company."

From Chief Factor Campbell

Carlton House, 7th July, 1878.

I wish with all my heart that Governor Goschen, all the Directors and shareholders had gone through the same ordeal in all its parts. It would give them a better idea of the Hudson's Bay Company fur-trade affairs than all that is, or can be, written on the subject. I concur in what you say on the present suppressed state of Hudson's Bay affairs. I wish I could see the remedy, or turn of affairs for the better as clearly "certain"; as you say, "things can't go on much longer this way."

To an old friend who had done him a favour, of which many another would have made lightly enough, Mr. Smith wrote: —

To Chief Factor MacFarlane

MONTREAL, 26th December, 1878.

Greatly as I am obliged to you for your kind attention I feel that you have done so much for me in this way on former occasions, and I am already so deeply indebted to you, that I really do not know how I can ever possibly repay you, but believe at any rate that I am very sensible of all your kindness and trust an opportunity may occur by which I may be enabled to give more expression to it than it is now in my power to do.

You will hear with much regret of the failure of City of Glasgow Bank, bringing down with it the Caledonian Bank, and involving in misery and ruin many of the shareholders of both banks. A more sad affair than any that has happened in Scotland for many a long day. And in England they have also had a bad failure in the West of England and South Wales Bank, so you see they are at home suffering more, far more, indeed, than we do, although with us it is bad enough, as the dividends on all bank stocks have recently been greatly diminished and the value of the shares have latterly run down tremendously in some cases, but it is a consolation to us that as regards banks of Montreal and Toronto, the capital at least is safe.

There is not one man in ten, aye, or in fifty here or in Canada generally, who is not very much poorer now than eighteen months back from the shrinkage in stocks and in investments generally, but this is not

confined to Canada, nor to this continent, but is common to Europe, and I may say, every civilized country. Hudson's Bay business, of course, suffers also, and unless something can be done for its future than merely the prosecution of the fur-trade, I fear not a great deal can be expected from it even when we have, if we are at all to have, a revival of general business.

You do me more than justice in expressing your conviction that I would gladly do anything I could for my old friends of the fur-trade; and it is only reasonable to believe that Mr. ——— would also do his part in a cause which is that of both shareholder and officer and whose interests must be held to be identical. I am glad to learn that your returns, though not equal to those of last year, are still a good average, and if good prices could be only obtained the result might be a tolerably fair one after all.

I saw William L. Hardisty in Winnipeg the other day. He intends, I believe, settling down at Lachine next spring and will spend the present winter at my place at Silver Heights.

It is my intention to take passage for England either on the 4th or 11th January, if possible the earlier date, returning to Montreal early in February, as I have to be in Ottawa for the Session.

From Chief Factor K. McDonald

Rampart House, 22d December, 1878.

The American traders seem determined to carry on the fur-trade on the Yukon, although they must be making very little out of it. They still give very high prices for furs, in fact, just double what is given here. Old Sinati, the Yukon chief, whom you have perhaps

heard of, is in charge of Fort Yukon and is carrying it with a high hand. The old fellow has a good deal of influence among the Indians and may do more in withdrawing these from this place than any of his predecessors.

McQuestin is up the Yukon among the Gens du Bois and Gens des Fous. Considering the lowering off of the prices here and the high ones the Americans are giving for furs, it can hardly be supposed that the Yukon Indians and the Gens des Fous will give us their furs as before. I, however, managed to keep the other three tribes more immediately connected with this post and hope that they will do well. Fur-bearing animals are becoming very scarce and unfortunately, where there are a few martens, the Indians this year, as well as last, find it impossible to procure a living to enable them to trap, owing to the deer keeping to the mountains.

In that winter Mr. Smith managed to procure some important concessions from the Board: —

To Chief Factor Rankin

MONTREAL, 16th May, 1879.

It is quite cheering to hear from you that the exports from your inland posts speak so favourably of the prospects of trade, and my hearty wish is that your best expectations may be realized and that prices may not only keep up but materially improve in the home markets, so that the commissioned officers may fare better than with the guarantee, which, however, with the other concessions made by the Board in the negotiations I had with them, I think with you is all that could

reasonably be expected under the circumstances, and I trust all the other officers may regard it in the same light, and heartily concur in it.

His growing railway enterprises, of which we shall shortly hear, made his further tenure of the Land Commissionership impracticable.

To Chief Factor McMurray

MONTREAL, 16th May, 1879.

I am now leaving for Fort Garry, to see about the land matters with Mr. Brydges, who, as you know, will soon be assuming the immediate charge of that department, thus relieving me of what it has latterly been impossible for me to continue to attend to with even ordinary regard for my own personal interests. We have also now got our St. Paul and Pacific Railway into that shape that it is to be reorganized on the 23d instant, and this makes absolutely necessary my presence at St. Paul on that day. Everything goes well with this road, far exceeding our highest expectations when we took hold of it. I mention this, as I am sure you will be glad to know it.

A retired officer speaks thus of the growing value of the land since the completion of the St. Paul and Manitoba Railway.

From Chief Factor Roderick McKenzie

MELBOURNE, QUE., 14th December, 1879.

I am glad to learn that brighter prospects are beginning to dawn now after the late years of depression and disappointment. The service is going through such

rapid changes that old hands hardly know many of the names figuring among the staff. The last appointment has bridged over the chasm of oblivion. It was a grand dodge for the wily wolves to have bound and gagged the simple-minded commissioned officers of 1869–70, to have signed their own death-warrant, in regard to the land interest. The fertile lands in the North-West will be a source of riches to the neophytes for years to come.

It has been mentioned that Mr. Smith had again intervened between the Board and the officers: —

To Chief Factor MacFarlane

MONTREAL, 23d June, 1880.

I quite sympathize with you when you complain of having to pay quite heavy duties, and my voice has invariably been heard in opposition to such, and I am very hopeful that we may after a little time be somewhat relieved from this burden. My efforts in that direction will at any rate not be unused. Meantime, I fear that any such representation as you suggest to the Government would have no good result, and the missionaries as compared with the Company's officers by you will continue to have the worst of it.

Your approval of the result of my negotiations on behalf of yourself and your colleagues with the Governor and Committee during the winter of 1879, I am glad to be informed of, although I apprehend very few of the officers had any correct idea of the great difficulties I had to contend with in undertaking the task, and certainly I would not have done so but for the very warm interest I have always felt in those who for

many years were my *confrères*, and whose untiring exertions in the general interest I was and am so fully cognizant of.

There never could have been any intention on the part of the Committee to make a victim of any of those who joined in the representations which induced me to act for the officers in London, as I had come fully provided that nothing of the kind could possibly be attempted; and I will on this subject only add that while in future negotiation with the Hudson's Bay Company the officers may and no doubt will find representation infinitely more able, they cannot find one having their best interests more at heart than myself.

I was sorry to hear that provisions had been so scarce in your district last winter, which must have brought great suffering to the poor Indians. Let me thank you for your good wishes in respect of the railway in which I am interested, and am glad to say it continues to go well.

It will afford me much pleasure to hear from you as opportunity may offer, and as I am now gradually reducing the amount of personal work to which my attention has been given, I shall be glad to write you from time to time at greater length and always to be of use to you in any way in which I can.

We get further glimpses of the American "free-traders" in the Far North, in the following letters:—

From Chief Factor K. McDonald

Fort Simpson, 5th September, 1880.

I am sorry to learn there is opposition in the fur-trade at Athabasca again this year. At Rampart

House the opposition instead of falling off is getting stronger. The two companies of American fur-traders in the Yukon are opposing each other very strongly. In spring at old Yukon, they put up martens to 5 M.B., beaver 3, foxes 12 to 15, black foxes 30, and bears 8 to 10. One company speaks of sending up some one to establish a post alongside of Rampart House this summer, and on my return in the fall I fully expect to find some one close to the fort, prepared to withstand me to the death. However, notwithstanding the odds against me, I think that their trade won't amount to much. Martens are still scarce, but the Indians, from the packs they saw in spring, hoped that they would be more numerous next winter. I hope such will be the case, for I am pretty well discouraged with the scarcity of furs for the last three years.

RAMPART HOUSE, 30th December, 1880.

I am sorry that I have no cheerful news to tell you of the fur-trade down here. The opposition from the Americans is still kept up as strong as ever, and I fear some of the Indians are beginning to be turned towards it. The excitement produced does not tend to have a beneficial effect upon the Indians, for the trade of the Americans is so reckless and so much given *gratis* that some of the Indians are becoming indolent and others dishonest. As far as I can gather, at all the posts occupied by the Americans on the Yukon, the Indians seem to be rapidly degenerating from the same reason experienced at home, I suppose, that charity has a tendency to produce paupers.

The majority of the Indians here, however, are still staunch to the old Hudson's Bay Company. It is surprising that any of them prefer trading here, consider-

ing the incomparably better trade they could make with the Americans — furs at more than double and goods at half the price. A reason may be found in the fact, that the Indians suspect that if this place be abandoned, they won't be so well off, for the Yankee traders are simple enough to tell them so. Yet we reflect that the Indians were never noted for providing for the future.

RAMPART HOUSE, January 1st, 1881.

Jimmy Barber is now a free-trader and he thinks himself quite a bourgeois. He went to the Yukon again in summer and brought a good deal of trading goods given him by McQuestin. He built a small house between this and La Pierre House in fall and intends doing his level best, as the Yankee would say. Half fool as he is, he managed to get a good many furs last winter from the Peel River Indians. He has made nothing of our Indians here yet, but it is possible he may get a skin or two from them this winter.

A nephew of old Sinati, Yukon chief, is opposing me here. He is staying in a small house on the opposite side of the river. He is a great scamp and worthy of his uncle. I had a talk with him in fall and he promised faithfully to give me whatever furs he trapped or traded. Having thus put me off my guard, he traded on the sly and with the furs he set off to the Yukon. On his return, when taxed with his perfidy, he was in no wise abashed, but seemed to think himself a pretty smart fellow. Such conduct annoys one, but I hope he is an exception.

We learn a great deal of a certain Russian Jew trader named Boscowitz, who led the Company's men a pretty dance thirty or forty years since.

The Splendid Boscowitz

William Charles writes from British Columbia, in December, 1880: —

That Boscowitz man bids for grandeur just to have the furs, and must lose a lot of money on some kinds of fur if he makes it on others. Boscowitz himself now lives in London, attends the Company's autumn and other sales, and has grown wealthy since he left this country. His *locum tenens* here is a German peer, a common-looking, illiterate boor; but he is too much for us all the same. He has a better salary than I have and can afford to give champagne to almost every one that is in the way of procuring furs. The other man, Lubbe, is a German, a well-educated man and a gentleman; he is backed by Sir Curtis Lampson.[1] I have secured very few lots in consequence of the extraordinary prices that have been paid occasionally, for pure devilment. I double my bids to get a lot or two, when they go much better next time. I expend a deal of energy in this business. The proper price for beaver now should be $2.50 per hundred for number one.

A few years later it is a roving free-trading adventurer named Sylvester buying gold-dust from the Alaskan miners as well as furs: —

From Chief Factor K. McDonald

Fort Simpson, 7th March, 1887.

I came to this place by steamer, and, for the greater part of the way, the route lay among islands of picturesque beauty, along the coast. The distance is about 540 miles and I arrived here on the 2d instant, and having made myself acquainted with the place and

[1] Sir Curtis Lampson was now out of the Company.

its surroundings, have been obtaining all the information possible regarding the trade on Chase Lake and River. There is a very strong opposition up there. Mr. Sylvester is the chief trader in that section of the country, and last year imported about fifty-five tons of goods for the trade. He deals in gold-dust from the miners as well as in furs. His returns in furs alone amount to about twenty-five thousand dollars yearly, and he takes out quite a sum in gold-dust besides. He is a very generous man, an extravagant trader, and is very popular among the whites and Indians, and is, moreover, a man of considerable means. I am going in with about twenty-five hundred dollars' worth of goods, and I feel that, with such a formidable opponent, I am in no position to successfully compete with him. He is a wealthy man and can oppose us very strongly and is stubborn enough to do so perhaps for years. He sells the greater part of his furs in Victoria, and it is, I dare say, the best market to-day. At any rate, furs are sold in Victoria at an average of fifteen per cent over what they bring at the London sales and he consequently is in a position to pay higher prices for them than we can.

He is also a close buyer in goods, going yearly to New York, Montreal, Victoria, and other places to make his purchases. His stock on hand after the year's trade is over is about ten thousand dollars and it is good, saleable goods. I cannot understand why the Company do not put their furs on the market in Victoria; that is, the furs obtained in this quarter. They could sell much higher than they could do in London, and save freight besides. Some people cannot understand how it is that the Company have had to abandon so many posts along this coast and in the

interior. The reason is simple. The Company's traders have their hands tied by a tariff, and the sales are by no means the best that can be made, for an auction always means a sacrifice. I have suggested that Sylvester be bought out. I am satisfied he would sell out for twelve thousand dollars. In that event, the Company would have his posts and would control the whole of the fur-trade in that quarter. Only let us get Sylvester's posts and they could defy any party who might undertake to oppose them. I know it is said that the buying-out principle is a wrong one, but this is an exploded idea. It was all well enough when the Hudson's Bay Company was in a position to freeze out a party, but times have changed. I would also strongly recommend having a steamer of our own, which could be used the whole season on the Skeena and Stickeen. It is not too much to say that a steamer of thirty tons at a cost of seven thousand dollars could be made to pay for herself in two years. At present the Company are paying heavy rates for their freight. With our own steamer we could secure a good part of the freighting for mines, and also obtain the trade with them, which is quite an item.

From Factor D. Laird

Battleford, 8th July, 1881.

I observe what you say about destitution among the Northern Indians. The Government at Ottawa should certainly do something for them. Bishop Bompas called my attention to the matter last autumn by letter and I forwarded his representations with a recommendation to Ottawa. Whether they will do anything or not, soon, I cannot say. This winter they have been busy handing over the country — well, a great

part of it — to the railway syndicate. It was scarcely worth their while to pay so much to one monopoly to get the country if they were going to give so much to another to take it off their hands, but this is almost political, and Lieutenant-Governors have no politics by right.

I dare say there is much truth in what you say with regard to the Hudson's Bay Company in the extreme North. Probably if they were protected in their trade, and entrusted with the care of the Indians in those parts of the country useful for settlement, it would be best for all parties. But I doubt whether the Canadian Parliament would consent to such an arrangement. But as protection is a policy now somewhat in the ascendant in Ottawa, the Company might succeed on application to have the National Policy extended to the fur-trade.

From Chief Factor C——— D———

STUART'S LAKE, 30th September, 1881.

The statement of dividends for fifty years shows that we are very much underpaid, and the Board grasp every mortal cent they can. They will sell out some fine morning and leave us in the lurch. ——— is going to London this coming winter, and will do his best to induce the Board to make the minimum £200 per share, and more in proportion as the trade allows. I hope he succeeds.

From Chief Factor MacFarlane

FORT CHIPEWYAN, 2d March, 1882.

The Board of Directors have graciously undertaken to insure us the continuance of the existing handsome

guarantee of £200 per one hundredth share for a further term of three years, beginning with Outfit 1882! I suppose we ought to be more grateful than we are for all that they have so *generously* done for the commissioned officers since and under reorganization. Shall I enumerate some of these acts of appreciation of our service? First they give us nothing for Outfit 1875, £100 per share for Outfit 1876, and to which the officers' own reserve fund contributed £5000, while their unjust (discontinued of late) assumption of three fifths of all the unappropriated fur-trade vacancies has more than made up for all the difference, and I believe also, most if not all that has been subsequently required to make up the £150 guarantee for 1877, and the £200 for Outfits 1878 and 1879.

There can be no doubt that the transfer of the country to Canada and our exclusion from all interest in the lands around, and especially of the post established and kept up at the expense of the fur-trade (you know that the Winnipeg and the old Red River colony cost tens of thousands of pounds sterling), for which no compensation has ever been made, has been a very bad business for the commissioned officers. Their annual incomes have not come up, for the decade just ended, to much more than half the amount realized by their predecessors. Were we as well remunerated, we could not complain, but in the face of the tens of thousands already secured by the shareholders, and the prospect of millions ahead, it is contrary to reason and human nature to expect us to be satisfied with a state of affairs that has so injuriously affected our pecuniary interest. Let the Directors or shareholders, or indeed any impartial person, compare the statement of profits realized by the officers from 1821 to 1871,

and then to the year 1881, and as men of honour, and integrity, they cannot help admitting that justice calls for a radical redress of our well-grounded grievances.

Whatever doubts might have been entertained as to the right of the fur-trade to participate in the sales of lands in the so-called "fertile belt," I firmly believe that our claim to a share of the 50,000 acres around our establishment was not only, as admitted, morally strong, but legally good, and that this view should have been confirmed had the question been submitted to the decision of a court of law and equity. But all this is useless now you will say. Still under the bright prospect of the future, so far as the shareholders are concerned, the Directors ought to give some effect to these doubts and facts in favour of those whose services hitherto have been so miserably and inadequately remunerated.

Had our Canadian investments been of late years as profitable as formerly, we might not have felt the comparative poverty of our position so very keenly. Many of us have large families, some have served twenty to thirty years and upwards, and for what? — while age is rapidly coming on. Several at least of our number believe that but for our isolation, large sums might have been realized by investment in Winnipeg, as well as in railways, which have proved of immense benefit to those who were fortunately privileged to utilize their means in this manner. I must, however, say no more for fear you should consider me as a grumbler.

Interest in Investments

From Chief Factor Roderick McKenzie

MELBOURNE, QUE., 11th June, 1883.

Our mutual kind and generous-hearted friend, Chief Factor Barnston[1] has gone the way of all the earth. There are not many living now who were the guiding spirits of the Hudson's Bay Company when we came to the country first. It is a warning to us, my dear sir, that our time is drawing near. May our Heavenly Father prepare us for the great change!

What sort of weather have you got in the North-West? How changed is that country from the solitude you first saw — thousands of people coming in every week. I often wonder how they can be fed. I am afraid many of them will starve, both from the want of food and the inclemency of the weather, before they get their houses built.

As an illustration of the financial relations existing between Mr. Smith and the commissioned officers of the Company for many years the following may serve: —

From the Honourable D. A. Smith

MONTREAL, 11th December, 1882.

You refer to the surprise and disappointment felt by some of our friends in the North-West at "the low rate of interest, five and six per cent, at which some recent investments have been placed."

I am sorry to say that no better rates can be obtained here on such undoubted security of the principal as we have always endeavoured to procure; and indeed it is even more difficult just now to get these figures

[1] Under whom Mr. Smith served at Tadousac in 1841.

than it was some two or three years back to obtain seven, eight, and even nine per cent. Nor, in my opinion, is there a prospect of any great increase in the value of money for some time to come, owing in great measure to the very large amounts of English and French capital seeking investment on this continent for which they are willing to accept less than five per cent. Hereafter, as in the past, we shall always endeavour to do the best for our friends whose money matters we attend to, but you will, I am sure, quite agree with me in believing that it is far better to be contented with a moderate rate, as interest now goes, than to attempt to get more at risk to moneys invested. Perhaps you will make this explanation to any of the gentlemen in your district to whom you may consider it desirable to do so.

Mr. G——— informed me in September last that you had requested him to draw on me for one thousand dollars for your account, for the purpose of some investment in steamboats in the North-West, to which I demurred, in the first instance, as I had received no intimation from yourself to that effect, but on being assured by Mr. G——— that it was your particular wish that he should receive the money, I advised him that, although I considered the transaction far from regular, I would under the circumstances accept his draft on your behalf for the amount; the money was in consequence paid to him on the 9th October.

May I ask, however, that when it is your wish to have any further payments made on your account, you will be good enough to advise me of the same *direct*, as you will see how very inconvenient and against your own interest it might be, were we to make such payments on the *ipse dixit* of this or that person

who might chance to make a requisition upon me on your account.

Following the "boom" or speculation in land which took place in Winnipeg and elsewhere in Manitoba, for some time prior to 1882, public attention was directed in Canada to the management of the Land Department of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Board in London sent their representative to Winnipeg to enquire and report on the subject in 1882 and 1883. The Directors, however, were unwilling to make any radical changes in the arrangement which had been pursued in the Land Department abroad, and they held their annual meeting in London in November, 1883, when the subject was discussed at length. Mr. Smith, who had been the largest shareholder prior to that date, spoke at length and made suggestions for some changes. He did not, however, receive any support from the Board of Directors. Consequently he voted against their reëlection and proposed a new body of members, some of whom were found to be ineligible and the list was incomplete. This led to a conference between the old Directors and Mr. Smith, with the result that a compromise was proposed and accepted which was confirmed at a subsequent meeting of the shareholders. Mr. Elvin Colvile retained the position of Governor, the bulk of the old Directors retired, and Hon. Donald Smith and Sir Charles Russell, Q.C., M.P., became Directors.[1] The letter he wrote on his return explains itself: —

[1] *Memorandum* by Mr. William Armit.

To Chief Factor MacFarlane

MONTREAL, 8th January, 1884.

You have done a good work in having a steamer built in Athabasca, and I can quite understand the difficulties you have had to contend with, under the circumstances you explain. The ultimate saving of cost in the transport business, and the greater facilities thus given for conducting the business advantageously, will, it is to be hoped, tell favourably on the result of trade, both in Athabasca and Mackenzie River district, and when it may be possible to supplement this by having a steamer on the Mackenzie River, still further reduction may be looked for in the expenses of distributing supplies and sending out the returns. You have, of course, given your views fully on the subject to the Company, through the Fur-Trade Commissioner, and I feel satisfied that, when submitted in due form by him, they will be carefully considered.

Having only just returned from England, I am unable at present to write you as fully as I could wish, but it will be always very pleasing to me to have your views with regard to the business which you have been so long connected with and which you know so intimately, and when I can be of use at any time in forwarding your wishes, be assured it would give me pleasure to do so.

You will no doubt learn by letters and papers, reaching you by the winter express, that some changes have taken place in the *personnel* of the Hudson's Bay Company. These changes were insisted on by myself, and although personally I did not care to be on the Direction, still, from the part I took in the matter, I felt that it was owing to my friends I should not de-

cline to act. The constitution of the Committee as at first elected, you will see, has been modified, the old Directors having made advances to me with a view to compromise which, considering all the circumstances of the case, I thought well to accede to in part. I have no doubt that the present members of the Committee will be prepared to do anything necessary for putting their affairs in this country on a satisfactory footing, where they have not been altogether for some time back.

This was a dramatic coup, indeed!

From Chief Factor Fortescue to a brother-officer

York Factory, 7th March, 1884.

What do you think of all the news by the winter packet — Donald A. Smith is upsetting the whole directorate and his open charge against some of the principal officers of the Company in Canada?

Has this anything to do with the testimonial to the present Chief Commissioner sent from Council last summer? I think it only fair to tell you that I declined to sign the papers. I did n't like the tone of them. They are inapplicable to an outsider, and I disapprove of alienating permanently our right of nomination, as far as it remains to us, for commissions. I think if sanctioned, we shall even regret the step taken.

But the London Directors and the mass of shareholders had gone too far and too fast. They might, under threats, exchange one instrument for another, but the steady sacrifice of the rights of the unfortunate winter partners was not to be checked by the efforts of any single champion.

Lord Strathcona

From Chief Factor Charles to a fellow-officer

Victoria, B.C., 21st February, 1885.

I heartily sympathize with you in your comments as regards the Hudson's Bay Company. I never believed much in their justice or liberality unless when they were forced to be so or could not help themselves. But at the same time, I always considered it a hopeless case to tilt against a great moneyed corporation without the sinews of war. I was not astonished at Mr. Grahame's severance from the Company, as I knew that he was at loggerheads with Donald A. Smith, who is and has been dictator for some time, not only in America, but also in London. This is the age of syndicates and those that have the money win, right or wrong, principally the latter, I am sorry to say. I have been puzzled to find out the true inwardness of things for a long time.

Donald A. was the champion of the officers years ago, ameliorating the status of the officers, raising their pay, etc., etc. But would not such action now on his part be against the interests of the Board, of which he is a Director?

In the following year, one of the boldest of the fur-traders, allied by blood and marriage to many of the old North-Westers, addressed an eloquent memorial to the Company.

From Chief Factor R. MacFarlane

Salisbury Hotel, London, 1st May, 1886.

As a Chief Factor and one who has been engaged in the service of the Company for upwards of thirty-five years, I am intimately acquainted both with the work-

ing of the fur-trade and also personally with the feelings and opinions of my fellow commissioned officers, and as such I now address you on my own and on their behalf.

I am sorry to have to bring before you the fact that our position has been lately rapidly growing worse, and that, although our responsibilities and labours remain as great as ever and our living expenses have increased, our remuneration has decreased and our prospects of improvement have dwindled away to almost nothing. We who have been long in the service can look back on the days when the officers used to retire on a sufficient competence after a hard life of toil, whilst we ourselves see no prospect of ever doing much beyond making a bare living for ourselves and families.

On this head I would call attention to the fact that I believe this is perhaps the only association of equal importance and permanent character which does not provide retiring pensions for its officers, and this can only be explained by the fact that in bygone days the profits of the officers were sufficient to enable them to put by money, and that if this had not been the case, the necessity of pensions would long ago have arisen.

The fact I mention of the great falling-off in commissioned officers' prospects is well known to you. The statement of profits I left with you recently shows that the profits per share used to be over £490 a year, whereas now they are little over £200 a year. This is attributable to the sale of the Company's chartered rights to the Canadian Government, to the railroad-building and influx of settlers, to the heavy duties now levied on imports, and generally to the competition in the fur-trade which has almost doubled the prices we now have to pay for fur.

Several of these reasons, whilst operating most disadvantageously to us as partners in the fur-trade, are for the great benefit of the shareholders generally, notably the influx of settlers and consequent sales of land by which the capital of the Company is being repaid, whilst we, the officers who originally shared in all the profits of the Company, are now practically limited to that part of the business which suffers most by the very causes which make the prosperity of the other part.

Under the circumstances I beg that Governor and Directors will take into their earnest consideration the necessity of raising the minimum guarantee on each share to at least £250 a year, the lowest sum, I submit, on which the officers can maintain themselves properly and save something; and further that if, at the end of five years, it appears that the sums paid on each share under guarantee and profits have not amounted to £300 a year, then that the deficiency be made up in the fifth year.

I should point out on this head that if the commercial business should prove as profitable as is hoped, this additional guarantee will entail no cost upon the Company.

You will pardon my apparent insistence on this matter. As one of your oldest officers I have the best interests of the Company and of my fellow-officers at heart, and I feel convinced that it is your desire that we should do our work, not only zealously, but also hopefully, which we cannot do under our present circumstances.

Poor blind Belisarius begging his obolus from Dives, who had taken from him his inheritance! If the future historian desires to turn a strong light

upon the inner life, hopes, and prospects of the fur-traders of the remote posts of the Company at this period, let him peruse the following letter. It will reveal much: —

From Chief Factor James L. Cotter

Moose Factory, 10th July, 1886.

It is a self-evident fact that nothing can be done without union. That the discontent you speak of is felt more or less all over the country there can be no doubt, but whether all will combine to give forcible utterance to it, is another thing. In 1878 the western officers refused to join the others; at the same time they reaped the benefit of the stand made by their brethren. At that time I threw in my lot with the majority, and if things had gone against us, God knows what would have become of me, for I had not a sixpence to live on. I am now in my thirtieth year of service, and see no prospect of ever being able to retire on anything beyond a mere pittance. My health is delicate, and I could not now go at anything else in the way of business; so I am beset with difficulties and anxieties on all hands. I suppose I am the poorest Chief Factor in the service.

You will pardon me for troubling you with these particulars. I only do so to enable you to know something of the man with whom you have to deal, and how his circumstances must necessarily colour his opinions and give bias to his actions.

I do think we are hardly treated by the Board and that an endeavour to get "better terms" should be made. Yet, — and here lies my difficulty, — I question if I have any right to stake on one cast the bread and butter of a large young family. I walk on the

brink of a precipice, one false step and the toil and suffering of a lifetime are thrown away and those dependent on me reduced to poverty. I am too old to pick myself up again if I fall. Of course it is possible that a firm combination of the officers might make success certain; but to that is added the dread that the Board, to avenge their defeat, would proceed to lop off the tallest heads; and the existing Chief Factors would speedily find themselves shelved. If the choice lay between being tolerably well off in the service and just a little less well off out of it, in short if the stake were not so big to me as it is, there would be little difficulty in making up one's mind which course to pursue. But when it is a matter of bread and butter on the one hand and starvation on the other, one may well pause and consider the consequences which might accrue should circumstances throw one at the mercy of relentless enemies. If I were a bachelor and misfortune befell myself alone, I could face it; but a lot of helpless children wanting food, clothing, and education! — I cannot bear the thought of it; I would rather die than see it.

I should only be too glad if we could get the £250. I am, however, thankful for the £200, my only complaint about it being that it is not a certainty, but a thing niggardly promised, as it were, from year to year. I say I am thankful, *but I am not satisfied.* What I want is a sure and certain minimum of £250 and a retiring interest the same as under the old régime. That is what I want, and with that I could jog on in some sort of hope. You certainly hit the nail on the head when you spoke of your being unable to work hopefully under the present circumstances. We work as if at the pumps of a sinking ship. It is a strained and unhealthy state of mind.

Board and Public Opinion

From Chief Factor ———

8th June, 1886.

The Board are taking a long time to answer Mr. MacFarlane's Memorial. They want to issue one of their conciliatory manifestoes first, very likely as a sort of buffer. They are as tricky as Mr. Gladstone, who (I am glad to learn this morning) has been kicked out of office on account of his Home Rule Bill.

I think the Board will be afraid to give Mr. M——— his quietus after that Memorial. They dread a series of articles published in the London *Times* or other influential paper, exposing their malpractices. They are as afraid of modern public opinion as slugs and sclaters are of the sunlight; for the reason that their deeds are evil.

As he was now a Director, Mr. Smith could not formally represent the wintering partners, as an outsider. But he entered as sympathetically into their grievances as of old, and always lent them his support.

Sir William Butler, author of the *Great Lone Land*, wrote to Mr. MacFarlane: —

I am sorry to hear you have had such an uphill struggle with the Board. A corporation has no conscience. I believe that selfish greed of place and profit has stamped out the last vestige of honour from our public bodies, and most of our public men, and that at no time in our history has rampant injustice had greater sway than now.

But if I know anything of you, you are not the man to give up without a good fight. Sir Donald Smith is,

I think, *obliged* to be what the French call an "opportunist," but I have always known he meant well.

The Board conferred with the shareholders, who finally consented to a measure of justice to the wintering partners.

From Chief Factor William Charles

VICTORIA, B.C., 14th January, 1887.

So you see the London shareholders were afraid of too much ventilation on affairs. But I suppose everything is fair in war. I am afraid the highly important communication will turn out *moonshine*. I can see fully what the object of the Company is. It is not different now from what it always has been, only now Mr. A——— seems to have acquired Bismarckian power over the Board and rules harshly and despotically with a rod of iron. I earnestly hope you will succeed in clipping that upstart's wings. I am told that the new commissioner is not a very happy man and finds things do not work so smoothly as he at first thought.

To Chief Factor Peter Mackenzie

June 9, 1888.

I learn you were not so successful in hunting as in former years. It is also deeply to be regretted that the natives [of Ungava] suffered so much from scarcity of food; but this appears to have been the case throughout the country as well as with you; and this last winter again we hear there has been great suffering and privation from the same cause.

I have had a good deal of communication and conversation with my associates of the Hudson's Bay

Company, and also with the Secretary, and hope that you will be able to spend another winter in Ungava; after which I trust we shall be able to find for you more congenial work.

From Sir W. F. Butler to R. MacFarlane

LONDON, October 5th, 1889.

So you are back on the east of the Rocky Mountains again, and at Old Cumberland, so long the advanced post of the Hudson's Bay Company, before French-Canadians showed stay-at-home John Bull how to develop the Great North; nor are the modern representatives of those great companies much better than their ancestors. I am sorry you do not like the new dispensation, but the London Board will ever be cowardly and vindictive. They are dishonest themselves, and hate honesty as the devil hates truth.

It was in this year, 1889, that he who had for so many years been the outstanding figure in the once mighty fur-trade of Canada, became the titular Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. The suffrages of his fellow Directors elected him to this position, first filled by Prince Rupert of the Rhine. It had latterly lost its pristine glory; but the romance of the young Scottish lad, who, beginning at the lowest rung of the ladder, had finally achieved the summit, served again to shed, while he lived, a lustre on the chair.

In another chapter I purpose returning to his connection with the fur-trade and to the correspondence of the veterans who still lingered on the scene.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XVI

I think it has been made abundantly clear that Donald A. Smith was not blind to the potential value of the land in the North-West, nor had he been for some years. The difficulty was to induce the factors generally to accept compensation in the form of land rather than money. Yet as an illustration of how his attitude continues to be misunderstood I find one prominent Chief Factor stating at Lord Strathcona's death: —

> In 1870 Sir Stafford Northcote and Sir Curtis Lampson frankly admitted, as did Secretary W. G. Smith and Assistant-Secretary W. Armit, that the fur-trade had a forty per cent interest in the fifty thousand acres around the posts, and in the posts and establishments themselves. Had this important asset been retained, the service would have been one of the most remunerative in Canada! Mr. Smith's own Labrador and Gulf of St. Lawrence land experience made him all the readier to agree with some of the older partners of 1870, to get a little more money at once, rather than wait for further settlement developments in which like a few they did n't believe. And thus we lost terribly. Had Mr. Smith, however, been brought up in the Northern Department, as was Governor Mactavish, Joseph Wilson, and other Chief Factors and Chief Traders, he would assuredly have been as staunch for all land rights as any one.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ST. PAUL & PACIFIC RAILWAY

1873–1878

UNTIL the sixties of the last century the only means of commercial transportation between the Hudson's Bay Company's territories in the Canadian West and the Atlantic seaboard was by ox-cart from Winnipeg to St. Paul, Minnesota, and from thence down the Mississippi River by steamboat to some one of the railways leading from that river to Chicago.

By way of experiment a small steamer, capable, so the wits said, of travelling on a heavy dew, was placed upon the Red River. Finding it was too small for the trade, the Company built a larger called the *International*, and on the 26th of May, 1862, the first trip of this steamboat to Fort Garry was made. For the ensuing nine years the *International* continued on the route from Abercrombie and Georgetown to Winnipeg, carrying goods to and fro for the benefit of the Company and the settlers.

We have seen how in 1870 Mr. James Jerome Hill had paid his first visit to Winnipeg and had made *en route* the acquaintance of Commissioner Donald A. Smith. Hill's business connections with the Red River Settlement seemed to him now to justify his having a steamer of his own. He there-

fore built one, the *Selkirk*. As a naturalized American citizen he enjoyed certain technical advantages over the owners of a rival boat. To adjust the situation Mr. Smith, as the chief officer of the Hudson's Bay Company, caused the *International* forthwith to be transferred to the Company's agent in St. Paul, Mr. Norman W. Kittson, to be operated as a regular passenger and freight boat in opposition to Hill's *Selkirk*. The outcome of the competition between these two steamers (the history of which is not without some elements of Mark Twainish humour) was an amalgamation of the interests of Messrs. Kittson and Hill, and the formation of the Red River Transportation Company under Kittson's management.

Here was a monopoly, and an outcry went up. With the object of lowering rates they deemed excessive, the merchants of Winnipeg, acting with others in Minneapolis, founded an opposition line. Two steamers, the *Manitoba* and *Minnesota*, were built to compete with the Hill-Kittson Company. But this Merchants' Line, as it was called, soon succumbed to its more powerful competitor, which eventually purchased the steamers and added them to its fleet, numbering seven vessels in 1878.

As for the mails, they were carried by stagecoach, which continued to run daily until the opening, many years later, of the Pembina Branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

In the year 1857, the American Congress passed an act making a grant of land to the Territory of

Minnesota, to aid the construction of the Minnesota & Pacific Railway from St. Paul, *via* St. Anthony (Minneapolis), to the head of navigation on the Red River. In May of the same year, the Minnesota Legislature incorporated the Minnesota & Pacific Railroad Company, with a capital of $5,000,000, to build a railway from Stillwater, *via* St. Cloud and St. Anthony, to the town of Breckenridge, with a branch from St. Anthony, *via* St. Cloud and Crow Wing, to St. Vincent, near the mouth of the Pembina River. But this projected line was not even begun, and the company languished till 1861, when an act was passed to "facilitate the construction of the Minnesota & Pacific Railway." The great Civil War broke out and further delay occurred. A year later, another act was passed changing the name of the company to the "St. Paul & Pacific Railroad Company," and requiring the company to complete the portion of the road between St. Paul and St. Anthony by the following 1st of January, and to St. Cloud by January 1, 1865. The ten miles between St. Paul and St. Anthony, the "first stitch in the network of railways which now covers the State of Minnesota," were forthwith built in accordance with the provisions of the act.

At the time it ran as far as Breckenridge the St. Paul & Pacific Railway was a very poor affair, and its service in handling the Hudson's Bay Company's traffic was highly unsatisfactory. "On each of the visits of Mr. Smith to Mr. Hill it was violently damned by the one and spoken of

deprecatingly by the other, each in his own characteristic way." [1]

The truth is this railway, which had swallowed up vast sums of money, came to a standstill, so far as construction went, for want of funds. It was the victim — a typical case — of railway financiers and construction companies; it was mortgaged and the mortgages were foreclosed and then it was re-mortgaged. Yet throughout these transactions its charter, giving it extensive and valuable land grants, still continued valid and finally tempted a syndicate of Dutch capitalists to intervene. On the strength of these land securities and the great prospects of the line, if completed, they were induced to purchase $13,380,000 of its bonds and by completing the road to avert a forfeiture of its land grant.

This was the situation when Mr. Smith first became acquainted with the enterprise. Evil fortune continued to haunt it, and in 1873 the St. Paul & Pacific Railway became bankrupt.

And now, leaving for a moment this bankruptcy of a road which was to exert so vast an influence upon Mr. Smith's fortunes, let us glance at the general railway situation in western Canada at that period.

[1] *Memorandum*, Sir William Van Horne. "The right honourable the First Minister will recollect that when, on the collapse of the Jay Gould projects, in 1872, the St. Paul & Pacific Railway being constructed in the State of Minnesota stopped short about one hundred miles from the international boundary, I, with his consent, made some enquiries regarding the possibility of continuing the road through to Manitoba. I was thus led to look into the possibilities of that country." (*Parliamentary Debates*, May 26, 1887.)

The Mackenzie Programme

Manitoba and the West had long been crying aloud for effective railway communication with the outer world. British Columbia continued to demand a fulfilment of the pledge by which she had been induced to enter the Dominion.

The fall of the Macdonald Government was a serious blow to the fortunes of the North-West which had before appeared so roseate. It postponed for years the completion of the great main line of the railway to the Pacific, which Alexander Mackenzie and his colleagues forthwith attempted to construct piecemeal as a Government work, and in connection with the discredited land-and-water Dawson route, stretching between Red River and Lake Superior.

The Act of 1874 provided for the construction of a railway on the Pacific Coast, provided the construction could be made "without increasing taxation." The road was to run from near Lake Nipissing to the Pacific and was divided into four sections; the first from Nipissing to the west end of Lake Superior; the second from Lake Superior to Red River, the third from Red River to Edmonton or the foot of the Rocky Mountains, and the fourth from there to the Pacific Coast. There were also to be two branch lines, one to extend from the proposed eastern terminus to a point of Georgian Bay, and the other to make a branch from the main line near Fort Garry to some point near Pembina. Each branch was to form a part of the main line and to be an independent section, and a subsidy of ten thousand dollars a mile and twenty thousand acres

of land a mile, in alternate blocks, was offered for any portion built and operated as a private enterprise.

In the Dominion House of Commons Mr. Smith "deeply regretted that party feeling should have been permitted in any wise to enter into the discussion of an enterprise with which the fortunes of Canada were closely bound up." "Of vast and general importance is this problem" the solution of which must in any case be attended with great difficulty.

It is an undertaking of such magnitude as to demand the cordial coöperation of the whole country to insure its successful completion, and it ought, therefore, to be regarded wholly outside of party considerations.

The whole people of Manitoba would be gratified by the assurance — the reassurance on the part of the Government — that they intend to carry through, or rather, that they do not propose to abandon, their intention of constructing an all-rail road from Lake Superior to Manitoba. For I distinctly understood that their purpose all along has been to complete the road between these two points with all possible despatch, merely using the water-courses in the mean time during the progress of the work, and not substituting them for any portion of the road. More than this, it would be absurd to demand.

It was admitted on all hands that we have undertaken an obligation toward British Columbia to build a railway through to the Pacific, and I for one hold that everything that is practicable should be done to carry out this engagement.

British Columbia, in view of its great natural re-

sources, abounding as it does in mineral wealth, was well worthy of their best attention and consideration — and although less generally known, its agricultural and pastural capabilities are also of a high order. I consider that we have cause to congratulate ourselves on having added to the Dominion so fair a Province, and I trust and believe that however we might differ, on minor points, the people of British Columbia, convinced by the determination of Canada faithfully to fulfil all her obligations to the utmost extent that the resources of the Dominion permitted, will never ask to recede from Confederation. British Columbia, with her resources fully developed, will greatly add to the importance and prosperity of the Dominion, and the main question now to be considered is how far the resources of Canada will warrant the vigorous prosecution of this work.

In the opinion of the member for Selkirk, the Dawson route was

all very well so long as they had nothing better, and for several years had served a very good purpose in causing a reduction of the charges made by American companies for the transport of passengers and freight. But the people of Manitoba were most anxious to have at the earliest possible moment railway communication between Pembina and Fort Garry. They certainly desired, and hoped shortly to see, an all-rail route constructed from one ocean to the other, but they were eager to have connection with Pembina in the mean time.

Something has been said of the magnificent watercourses of the North-West. Statements have been made that they were a myth. It is said that they have

not yet been discovered by those who had travelled over the country. My own impression is that there are some stretches of water there that may properly and soberly be called magnificent. Lake Winnipeg is certainly no inconsiderable expanse of water itself, and from this lake, with a very little barrier, an entrance is made into the Saskatchewan. From that point there are three hundred miles of uninterrupted water communication. At the end of those three hundred miles, it is necessary to transport freight for four miles by land, and having again reached the Saskatchewan you can go for nine hundred or one thousand miles into the interior and within seventy or eighty miles of the Rocky Mountains.[1]

While almost wholly useless as an emigration route, the Dawson route in Mr. Smith's opinion had been of very great advantage in transporting supplies to the North-West. The very fact of its being turned over to a company in 1874

had the effect of making the people in Minnesota reduce their transportation rates still further. They are shrewd men, and, having very little confidence in their own Government, they thought the competing Dawson route would be more efficiently managed by the contractor than by the Canadian Government. My opinion is the Administration should still be prepared to carry emigrants and freight by the Dawson route if any attempt is made by the Americans to enforce higher rates. It should not be given up altogether. I understand the Americans will still further reduce their rates this year. It is hardly fair to say it was money thrown away to spend on the railroads

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, April, 1876.

connecting with the water-ways, provided they were adapted for an all-rail road, — and the route is not too indirect.[1]

He said on another occasion: —

It is a very different thing to have a railroad and to have a wagon road. Many things can be brought into the country by means of a rail and water route which cannot be carried by an ordinary wagon or cart, and they can be usefully employed while progress was being made with the railroads. I would be very sorry to see the undertaking stop short with this rail and water route. On the contrary, I hope and trust there will be a continuous railroad carried out with all possible speed.

Speaking in Manitoba he said: —

While I do not want to be an apologist for the Government in its construction of the Georgian Bay

[1] The total distance of the Dawson road from Lake Superior to Red River was about five hundred and thirty miles; forty-five at the beginning and a hundred and ten at the end by land; and three hundred and eighty miles between, "made up of a chain of some twenty lakes, lakelets, and lacustrine rivers, separated from each other by spits, ridges, or short traverses of land or granite rocks, that have to be portaged across."

In the opinion of Principal G. M. Grant, who travelled with Mr. Fleming in 1873, the Dawson road, as a route for trade for ordinary travel or for emigrants to go west, was far from satisfactory. "Only by building a hundred and fifty miles or so of railway at the beginning and the end, and by overcoming the intervening portages in such a way that bulk would not have to be broken, could it be made to compete even with the present route by Duluth and the railway thence to Pembina. The question, then, is simply whether or not it is wise to do this, at an expenditure of some millions on a road the greater part of which runs along the boundary line, after the Dominion has already decided to build a direct line of railway to the North-West." (See *Ocean to Ocean*, by G. M. Grant, 1873.)

Branch and the railroad here, I know it is a great deal easier to construct the road as they are doing and far cheaper. I believe it is being pushed forward as fast as the finances of the country will allow, and I agree that the Pembina Branch ought not to delay the construction of the main line. At the same time I do not believe that the building of this road to Pembina will stand in the way.

On another occasion, Mr. Donald Smith told his constituents: —

We looked confidently forward to the construction of the Pembina Branch; and great was our disappointment when the American railway[1] connecting on the other side of the boundary line became disorganized. It was stopped sixty miles before reaching the boundary, barring us as completely from outer communication as if the rails had not been laid beyond Breckenridge. Efforts were made by the Minnesota Government to take up the railway again, but the surrounding circumstances were such that no one could be induced to have anything to do with it.

He then went on to say: —

It happens that I had friends in London and Montreal who were interested in this country. But when these gentlemen were consulted with in reference to a railroad to Manitoba, one might just as well have suggested to them a road to the North Pole. So little was known of this part of Canada that capitalists could not be induced to embark their wealth in the enterprise and I desisted — *for a time.*

[1] The St. Paul & Pacific.

Financial Depression

When speaking of all these great public undertakings not having been more rapidly advanced, Mr. Smith pointed out the extraordinary financial depression which just then existed: —

> With a depression more severe than had been known for many years, the country and Government had to contend. It was a period of embarrassment not confined to the Dominion, but extending over the United States, England, and the Continent, and railroad enterprises had been greatly retarded by it.

It is interesting to recall that at this time (1876) Mr. Smith did not believe in the practicability of the transcontinental railway being built by a private company.

"I will give it as my opinion that if it is to be accomplished at all, it must be directly by the Government, and not through the instrumentality of a company as was at one time proposed." When a fellow-member spoke of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company of 1873 as having been composed of "most honourable men, well qualified to carry out this great undertaking, and who would have accomplished it had they not been interfered with by outside influences," Mr. Smith said: —

> The gentlemen who composed that company were doubtless men of the highest respectability, and some of them possessed great wealth, but I would have asked the right honourable gentleman for Kingston,[1] if he had been in his place to-night, if the gallant knight, Sir Hugh Allan, who presided over the company, had

[1] Sir John A. Macdonald.

not, before leaving this country, misgivings as to the success of the mission he was about to undertake. I will not ask his honourable friend from Cumberland,[1] and the other members of the late Government who sit near him, whether within eight days after the deputation reached London, those gentlemen were not convinced that it was impossible to procure the money required on the terms proposed, and in fact that nothing short of a guarantee from the Canadian Government of interest to some extent on the whole amount of the bonds could induce capitalists to embark on the enterprise. This, it must be borne in mind, was before any party influence had been brought to play, if indeed such had been at all employed, which I am not inclined to believe, to thwart the scheme. I had been in England about that time, and had learned, on what I believed to be the best authority, that the capitalists with whom the company wished to negotiate would not touch the proposition on any other terms than a Government guarantee, as I have just stated.[2]

Finally, the Mackenzie Government pressed forward the road. The survey across Manitoba was made, when, much to the general disappointment and disgust of Mr. Smith's constituents, the plans showed that it avoided Winnipeg altogether, taking a course much farther north. Here was a bitter pill to swallow! With Mr. Fleming the member for Selkirk was on terms of great intimacy. He sought him and earnestly besought him to demonstrate the reasons for the northerly route.

"If this is persisted in, Mr. Fleming," he ex-

[1] The Honourable Charles Tupper.
[2] *Parliamentary Debates*, April, 1876.

claimed, "I might as well resign my representation of Selkirk in the House of Commons."

They went over the plans carefully, and although at the end of a four hours' interview, the member for Selkirk was unconvinced of the necessity for the change he was fully convinced of Fleming's belief in such necessity.

With this conviction he faced a stormy meeting of his constituents.

As the action of the Government in locating the Canadian Pacific Railway [he said], they are and any Government must be in the hands of their engineers, who are alone qualified to give advice in such matters. Mr. Sandford Fleming has in this instance reported in favour of the northern route which he has adopted, he states, as the best selection he could make, in view of the purposes for which the railway is mainly constructed.

It was charged that the chief engineer had arrived at this decision far too rapidly and without sufficient *data*.

But [declared Mr. Smith] it has to be borne in mind that engineers are provided with staffs of assistants to aid them. A man of such high character as Mr. Fleming would not come forward to give recommendations of this description unless he believed he was acting in accord with the best interests of the country.

He reminded his hearers, further, that another engineer, Mr. Marcus Smith, made a report, similar to that of Mr. Fleming.

However [he went on], as far as I am concerned, I have always, both in and out of the House of Commons,

urged that the Canadian Pacific Railway should be run by the southern and not by the northern route. On every possible occasion I have urged this on the Government, and I have used every effort to secure railroad communication through the Province. I have not only taken an active part myself, but I have induced others to do so.

To us this comes as a great disappointment. It is almost unendurable that the railway, instead of passing through the centre of the Province, is to go a considerable distance to the north, touching it only at one point. The Minister of Public Works gives as a reason for this that there would be a saving of thirty miles. That certainly is a very great consideration from a Dominion point of view. If this principle is to be maintained throughout the whole line, we can hardly look for an exception in favour of Manitoba, no matter how much we may regret the fact. A deputation from Manitoba has had an interview with the Minister of Public Works, and but little hope is held out of a change in the route. However, as we cannot have this, I am glad to find an indication of willingness on the part of the Government to assist the people of Manitoba in building another line south of Lake Manitoba and running westward and southward — such assistance to be in the shape of grants of land. I earnestly trust that this disposition will be borne out by fact, and that such assistance will be given as will give our people the means of sending their produce out of the Province to a favourable market.

Mr. Smith had in view a road running from Fort Garry westward toward the south branch of the Saskatchewan, for a distance of from one hundred

to one hundred and ten miles within the Province of Manitoba. It might extend, however, for six or seven hundred miles farther to that portion of the country known as Bow River. That route would be south of the arid country stretching to a considerable extent through the British possessions of the North-West. It had been said that the desire was to bring this road too far south to meet the requirements of the great body of the people of the Province. He denied that this was the fact, and declared that the requirements of the greater number would be duly considered before the Government would be asked for any assistance.

Yet, even while he professed submission, he did not abandon hope that the course of the railway would be changed. In a phrase which he afterwards used on many other occasions and notably to Sir John Macdonald, when the latter was again in power, "*It must not be!*" — so now he observed repeatedly to the Premier, "I tell you, Mr. Mackenzie, it must not be, it really *must not be.*"

Time passed; events happened and "it"— so greatly deprecated — was not.

We will now return to the St. Paul & Pacific Railway Company, over whose lines traffic between the Red River and St. Paul then passed and which had become bankrupt in 1873. It was partially completed, in poor physical condition,[1] and laden with a heavy burden of bonds, owned mostly by financiers in Holland. On the other hand, it had a land grant that might be valuable later on if it could be

[1] The rails were of iron, not steel, and fast rusting.

saved, terminal facilities in St. Paul of considerable present and great potential value, and it was the predestined continuous railroad route to Winnipeg by its authorized line down the Red River Valley to the international boundary, some sections of which had been built and were lying there in the general demoralization. When Mr. Smith saw that construction had stopped and that those in control of the property were not likely to complete it, he began to consider if there were any other means to that end.

He discussed the matter with Mr. Norman Kittson, and he also found that Mr. Hill had the same idea; both believed thoroughly in the country, and its possibilities, and in the value of the property if it could be secured, rehabilitated, and extended. Every year, from 1873 on, Mr. Smith passed through St. Paul frequently, and the three men in their conversations came to have a practical idea of what would have to be done, and finally to regard a purchase of the defaulted railway bonds as something that might be attempted.

By 1876, the time appeared to be ripe for action. The prospects of the property and the country were improving. Legislation had been passed making it possible to reorganize a railroad company under foreclosure, allowing the bondholders to buy in the property and reorganize without forfeiting the privileges belonging to the former company. So in March of that year Mr. Hill, being in Ottawa, met Mr. Smith at his house there, and they decided that the opportune time had come and that a prac-

LORD MOUNT STEPHEN

From the painting by Frank Holl, A.R.A.

tical effort should now be made to see at what price the bonds could be bought.[1]

One of Mr. Smith's intimate friends was Mr. George Stephen, afterward Lord Mount Stephen, then President of the Bank of Montreal. From the first he had endeavoured to interest Mr. Stephen in the plan. The latter, who was not at first familiar with the country or the property, for a time believed it not practicable, and perhaps not desirable. Mr. Smith's continued representations finally induced him to consider it more favourably; and in the spring of 1877, he joined with the others in the enterprise and the effort to raise, through moneyed men in London and elsewhere, the funds necessary to buy the bonds.[2]

When the St. Paul & Pacific Railway Company became bankrupt [writes Sir William Van Horne], it occurred to Mr. Smith and Mr. Hill that they might help the transportation difficulty, and do something for themselves and for the country as well, by getting control somehow of the broken-down property. They needed, first of all, a financier, and Mr. Smith brought the subject to the attention of his cousin, George Stephen (now Lord Mount Stephen), a prominent Montreal merchant and the president of the Bank

[1] "I succeeded in inducing some friends to join with me in taking up the St. Paul & Pacific Railway, now the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railway. Mr. Stephen was one of those who embarked in the enterprise, and at the time we certainly did not expect to make much profit out of it, but we did desire, and that very earnestly, to have a road into our own North-West country. Contrary to the wish of our associates, we made it a condition that it should be continued on to the boundary to meet a line at Pembina, a proposition which they thought was very foolish, indeed, as it would result in no profit, but in a loss to the company." (*Parliamentary Debates*, May 26, 1887.)

[2] *Memorandum* of J. J. Hill to the author.

of Montreal, who at first scouted the idea. But Mr. Smith was, as always, persistent, and he gave Mr. Stephen no rest.

Just then occurred a serious failure of a steel company in Illinois which involved the Chicago agency of the Bank of Montreal in a heavy loss, and Mr. Stephen with Mr. Richard B. Angus, the general manager of the Bank, hastened to Chicago to do what they could. After some days the proceedings of the law courts gave them a week of idleness and they tossed a coin to determine whether to use it in a visit to St. Paul or St. Louis. Fortunately for them, it fell to St. Paul, and Stephen said, "I am rather glad of that, for it will give us an opportunity to see the railroad Smith has talked about so much." They had heard of Mr. Hill through Mr. Smith, and on reaching St. Paul, they looked him up. He arranged for a special train to Breckenridge and they ran out one day and returned at night.

Mr. Stephen had never before seen a prairie and was much impressed by its beauties and possibilities, although at the time the plague of locusts which had devastated all that region for nearly two years, and which continued more than a year afterwards, had given the country a bleak and barren look and had compelled nearly all the settlers to abandon their homes. Mr. Stephen knew that such plagues had visited many parts of the world many times since history began, knew that they were frequent, but knew that they never continued long, and he gave the locusts no serious thought. He knew the Americans and knew that the settlers would quickly return to their lands when the locusts should go, and that these settlers would prosper and be followed by many more.

The Dutch Bondholders

Then came visits to the representatives of the Dutch bondholders whose interest was long in default. Mr. Stephen urged these bondholders to join him and his friends in reorganizing the company and extending the railroad down the valley of the Red River some hundreds of miles to the Canadian boundary and spoke of the great fortunes to be made by it. But the Dutchmen were not to be moved. They had lost much money, they were tired and disgusted, and the locusts were yet there. "Take our bonds at a price and make all that money yourselves," said they. Mr. Stephen replied that he and his associates could not take the bonds at any price unless they could be sure of the necessary legislation in Minnesota. "How long will that take?" asked the Dutchmen. "Six months," replied Mr. Stephen. "Then," said the Dutchmen, "we will give you an option for a nominal amount on our bonds for eight months at a price less than the accrued interest on them." And Stephen came away with the option.[1]

This was in 1876. An association was immediately formed, consisting of George Stephen, Donald

[1] Most of these bonds were held by a committee of the owners in Amsterdam, called the "Dutch Committee." Through the year 1877, various tentative propositions were considered in the negotiations opened with this committee. The associated purchasers were all men of modest means. It was found impossible to procure outside capital in amount sufficient to purchase for cash, because men in a position to command it were not familiar with the country and had been made distrustful by the misfortune of other American railroad investments. The bondholders stood out for the best terms they could make; but further delay threatening the sacrifice of some of the company's rights and its property unless they were ready to put in a large additional sum of money, they finally entered, February 13, 1878, into an agreement of purchase and sale on new conditions with four associates, Donald A. Smith, James J. Hill, George Stephen, and Norman W. Kittson.

A. Smith, James J. Hill, Richard B. Angus, John S. Kennedy, and Norman W. Kittson. The comparatively small amount required for preliminary expenses was provided between them, the reorganization plan was carried out, the necessary legislation hurried through at St. Paul by Mr. Hill, and the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railway Company (now called the Great Northern) was born.[1] New bonds were created for putting the old railway in order, for new equipment and for the extension northward. Enough of these bonds were quickly marketed to pay off the Dutch bondholders. Then more were sold and active operations began; and then early in July, 1877, the locusts disappeared. Immediately the settlers who had left the country returned and the suspended movement of people to the western lands was resumed at an enormously increased rate.

"From that time to this the history of the company has been one of enterprise, energy, and boundless success. The railway built up the country and the fortunes of its promoters grew a pace. The names of these men are held almost in reverence throughout the vast region served by the many thousands of miles of railways they have made, and among these names not the least is that of Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona). The great corporation created by these men, unlike some of the earlier American railway corporations, has never been smirched by charges of stock-jobbing, money-grabbing, or questionable practices of any kind. The vast rewards which have come to it represent merely a fair participation in the wealth its founders created for the country at large." [2]

[1] *Memorandum* by James J. Hill.
[2] Sir William Van Horne.

Acquisition of the Railway

Turning to Mr. Hill's narrative, he says: —

The old bonds were turned in at varying prices which, though more or less below face, were well above their market value at the time. Payment was to be made within six months of the sale of the properties under foreclosure, either in gold or in first mortgage gold bonds of the new company to be organized by the associates. Until then they were to pay interest on the purchase price, and they assumed all the risks and all the expenses of completing unfinished lines. It was stipulated under bond that they should build to St. Vincent as quickly as possible, and in not to exceed two years from date. They pledged all they had in the world to carry through what nearly everybody then regarded as a probable failure.

The new control pushed matters. The new lines were built, operation was systematized, the seasons were favourable, settlers came pouring in, the country developed, the business of the railroad grew. On May 23, 1879, these four men, together with a representative of the banking house of John S. Kennedy & Company, of New York City, organized the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railway Company, the parent company of the Great Northern of to-day. From that time onward, the history of the enterprise in which Donald A. Smith had so large a share was one of unceasing growth and increasing prosperity.[1]

Having by these strenuous exertions acquired the road and carried it to the Canadian boundary, the next step was to obtain a lease of the line of railway which had been built by the Government from

[1] *Memorandum, ubi supra.*

Winnipeg to Pembina in order to link it there with the St. Paul & Pacific.

In every country there is a set of men so jealous of capital and suspicious of enterprise likely to create wealth for others than themselves that, should a political antagonism also exist, they will spare no effort to defeat a project destined for the public good. It was so in this case and will be so in other instances hereafter. One records with regret that Sir John Macdonald opposed the granting of the lease, chiefly because he was advised that the Government of the day intended to grant it and he was in opposition, but partly also because he had not yet forgiven Mr. Smith for his failure to support him at the crisis of 1873. Forces were brought to bear to defeat the measure, but in vain.

A great deal was said at the time about the existence of a railway monopoly, which would grind down the farmers and producers of the North-West.

It is important [stated Mr. Smith] for the Government to have connection made with advantage to the railway; but the Government has secured the people against extortion or excess of charges. If I say anything on behalf of the St. Paul & Pacific promoters, it is that our first proposition submitted to the Government was so moderate in their own interests and beneficial to this Province that the Government did not consider that anything fairer could be asked for. What were the terms? That we might have the power to run the road for five years which term might be extended for another five on a mutual agreement, and that the rates should be reasonable. Well, how were

we to arrive at what were reasonable rates? It was arranged that the Government should appoint an arbitrator, the railway men another, and if these two did not agree upon a third, then they should go to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada to appoint him. This was the offer of those monopolists, of those who would grind us down. I ask you — could anything be more liberal? When I tell you further that the road is entirely controlled by Canadians — though while no men were more honourable than the merchants of the United States, we naturally had a leaning for our own people and preferred to see the work in their own hands, when it was in the hands of Canadian capitalists. I asked if they were not perfectly safe against extortion and excessive charges.

In the course of the debate in Parliament on the Canadian Pacific Railway Act Amendment Bill,[1] in the spring of 1878, Mr. Smith disclosed some interesting particulars he had obtained of the transportation rates then charged by different companies in the North-West, to show that the heavy rates and great extortion complained of did not rest wholly with the Red River Transportation Company

From J. J. Hill to D. A. Smith

St. Paul, 21st April, 1878.

I beg herewith to send you the particulars you ask for with regard to the transportation rates. The first-class passage from St. Paul to Winnipeg is $20. Of this amount the Northern Pacific will not accept anything

[1] To lease the Pembina Branch.

less than $10 for carrying passengers 244 miles to Glyndon, which is made within twelve hours. From that point to Fisher's Landing, or rather Crookston, the other portion of the line belonging to the Red River Transportation Company, a distance of 70 miles, $2.50 is charged. There remains the transit by the Red River Transportation Company, for a distance of 380 miles, occupying two or three days, on the river, for which $7.50 is charged. Thus for transportation over 244 miles, the Northern Pacific obtains $10, that for 70 miles $2.50 was exacted, and that for 380 miles, extending over two or three days, only $7.50 is paid. For second-class passage, $12 is paid for the whole distance, of which $6 was taken by the Northern Pacific for 244 miles, while the Red River Transportation Company obtains an amount in the same proportion as I have given for the first-class passengers. So much for the so-called "extortion" of the Red River Transportation Company.

On August 3, 1878, a lease was granted to Mr. Stephen giving to the St. Paul & Pacific Railway running powers for ten years over the Pembina Branch.

I will not dwell upon the protracted trials of these gentlemen in their efforts to secure rail communication and their frequent failures, which only nerved them to try again; and within three months those present will see that they had at last succeeded. Within that space of time the cars will be running up from St. Boniface to St. Paul, and within a short period after, the iron horse will be on the rails on this side of the river. I feel gratified on receiving a telegram from my friend Mr. George Stephen, a most enterprising mer-

chant, and, as nearly every one present knows, the president of the Bank of Montreal, — a gentleman greatly interested in opening communication with Manitoba.

Mr. Stephen had gone west in the summer of 1878 and travelled up the railway to Fisher's Landing, and along the St. Vincent extension, and on his return to Montreal wired Mr. Smith a despatch expressing his confidence that a train would be in Winnipeg in October.

But even if we discount this confidence, if, however, taking the latest time possible and allow for some unforeseen circumstance, we should have rail communication with the outside world — that we could leave here in the evening and be in St. Paul the following day — what a boon that will be! And, gentlemen, mark my words, we will do it!

Relating his experiences at this time and the inducements offered to Messrs. Stephen and Angus to come to see this bankrupt railway, Mr. Smith said afterwards: —

They finally yielded to my persuasion and came. They saw the fine prairies of northern Minnesota; they saw the golden grain in fields and in mounds; they looked with amazement, for they had no conception of such a country — even one of which they had heard so much. Up here in Manitoba, they were still better pleased with the excellence of the land. They saw and felt that Canada had a very great country; to make it profitable — for it to become the granary of Canada and Europe — it had merely to be opened. These capitalists, these prominent men, were looked upon at

home as sober, serious citizens, but when they returned from the West, they were almost beside themselves, and advised every one they met to "go West." And some of these gentlemen were able to infuse the enthusiasm they contained into others who knew little previously of the North-West. They were helped, and helped considerably, by the magnificent speech of Lord Dufferin in which he declared that Manitoba was not only useful to the rest of Canada, but was the "bull's eye of the Dominion."

It is hardly within the prescribed scope of these pages to do more than refer to certain vexatious litigation which attended the transfer of the interests of the St. Paul & Pacific Railway Company to Mr. Smith and his associates. But inasmuch as the transaction has been the subject of such gross misconception, a summary of it may be considered called for in this place.

When, in 1873, the railway went into bankruptcy, one James J. Farley, a person with an indifferent reputation, was appointed official receiver. The interests of the Dutch bondholders were in the hands of Mr. J. S. Kennedy, of New York. In order to obtain financial control and rehabilitate the railway, it was necessary to deal with Farley.

Farley claimed to have

knowledge, not possessed by any of the other parties, as to the whereabouts of the bonds, the rated value thereof by holders, and the mode whereby these could be procured; also in respect to the situation, amount, character, and value of the lines of railroad and property mortgaged to secure said bonds and in respect to

the pending suits for the foreclosure of said mortgages, and that the services of the plaintiff in respect to all of said matters and his coöperation were indispensable to the success of said enterprise.[1]

He gave this information to Messrs. Kittson and Hill in the first instance, and claimed to have entered into a secret agreement with them to share certain profits to be derived.

Thereupon Kittson made arrangements with and procured Donald A. Smith, in conjunction with George Stephen, to agree to furnish and advance funds necessary to purchase the bonds, and carry out said enterprise, and as plaintiff is informed and believed, the said defendant Kittson, by and with the consent of the defendant Hill, but without the knowledge or consent of the plaintiff, and in violation of the understanding and agreement before mentioned, agreed with Smith and Stephen, that the latter should have and hold, for their own use and benefit, three fifths or sixty per cent interest in said undertaking and enterprise. Subsequently, Smith and Stephen, aided by Hill, Kittson, and plaintiff, opened a court of negotiations (between 1877 and 1879) for the purchase of said bonds, and as a result of such negotiation, Smith and Stephen purchased about twenty million dollars, in amount, of the bonds. [2]

In the legal proceedings, it was indignantly denied by Mr. Kennedy that either he or the holders of any of the mortgaged bonds knew of Farley's interest in the project for purchasing said bonds.

[1] The plaintiff's plea in the subsequent lawsuit.
[2] *Minnesota Reports*, vol. XXVII.

Nor did Kennedy even suspect at any time that Farley ever claimed to have any such interest, as receiver of the railway, then covered by a fifteen-million-dollar mortgage. Moreover, how could Farley lawfully make any such agreement, or engage in the enterprise of purchasing the bonds? The mere making of such an agreement and the embarking in such an enterprise by him would have been "a breach of trust on his part as such receiver, and a fraud on the holders of the bonds, and a fraud on the court, whose receiver he was."

On the other hand, as general manager of the trustees, Farley occupied a situation of confidence toward his employers; by making any such agreement as he alleged and by engaging in the enterprise of purchasing the bonds and said mortgaged property, he would have been guilty of a breach of trust toward, and a fraud upon, the trustees and the bondholders.

But while privately stigmatizing Farley's infamous charge of conspiracy, the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Company (as it was now) were advised, as the speediest method of disposing of the case, to ignore the issue raised altogether, and simply to put forward the plea that, by reason of the fiduciary position occupied by the plaintiff, he was not entitled to the aid of a court of equity to enforce any of the agreements mentioned or any of the rights claimed by him.

Therefore these defendants do plead, whether they should be compelled to make further answer to the said bill, and pray to be hence dismissed, with their reason-

able costs and charges in this behalf most wrongfully sustained.

In rendering his decision the Federal judge treated Farley's plea with merited severity. He said:—

> This is a strange demand to present to a court of equity. To what extent the alleged confederates are blameworthy or culpable, *if at all*, can be made to appear only after necessary and full proofs. The court, however, must dispose of the case as now presented. Surely no principle of equity, morals, or law could countenance such a demand, and no court worthy of its trust would lend its aid to further a scheme so abhorrent to all recognized rules of right and justice.[1]

The plea of the defendants was sustained and the suit against them dismissed with costs.

The whole case aroused widespread interest, and an attempt was made in some quarters to create another "railway scandal," of a too-familiar type, out of it. But the attempt miserably failed. To a plain man knowing Farley's character and the character of the defendants, and appraising the charges as presented in court, no possible doubt could exist that the promoters of the railway had acted throughout as honourable men, and that the plans of a simple blackmailer had happily miscarried.

The determination of the Government that the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway was not to pass through Winnipeg continued to be a source of deep dissatisfaction. But Mr. Smith was not discouraged. He told his constituents: —

[1] *Federal Reporter*, vol. xiv.

Our next step, after securing the road to St. Boniface, should be a railway through the country now becoming so thickly settled. I see no reason why it should not be built; it should already be running. Three or four years ago a charter was obtained for a road running south-west from Winnipeg; the scheme was shown the Government, which seemed inclined toward it. I introduced a gentleman well known here, Mr. John Ross, to the Premier, and in conversation in regard to the railway, Mr. Mackenzie expressed himself most favourably, and so did the then Minister of Interior, indeed so far as to speak of the necessary grant of land and the arrangements for commencing the work within a short time. Some gentlemen here, however, stepped in and thwarted the scheme, which was hardly to be expected from those in the Province, even if the line did not run within a few yards of their lands. The scheme, however, was only postponed, and I believe that within eighteen months a railway west will be commenced. We need not then care whether the proposed Canadian Pacific Railway was built to the north or south of Lake Manitoba, or whether it was built at all, so long as we would have, for all practical purposes, and for the wants of the country, a well-built road to take in supplies to the hundreds, soon to be thousands, who will make their homes in the North-West, and who will enrich Manitoba and Winnipeg. I know that Manitoba is a small spot, — on the map it looked little enough, — but in a short time it will have extended its limits. The boundary difficulty between Ontario and the North-West was the only difficulty in the way, and that now being dispelled, our boundaries to the eastward and to the westward will be extended, through Manitoba to the Little Sas-

katchewan I trust, and circumstances warrant me in believing a railway will be running in a very short time.

Soon it appeared that the Mackenzie Government was weakening on the question of the route north of Winnipeg.

The Prime Minister (Mr. Mackenzie) stated that the principal reason for carrying the railway from Red River north of Lake Manitoba to Fort Pelly was to shorten the distance to the destined capital of the North-West.

I hope [declared Mr. Smith], now that the seat of Government for the North-West Territory is to be removed to a point some three hundred miles west and somewhat south of that first proposed, the Prime Minister might see his way to consider the location of this portion of the line so as to bring it south of Lake Manitoba, an alteration which would confer a very great benefit on the Province of Manitoba, and would command the approval and hearty thanks of its people. I believe that the statement and explanation of the Premier will give general satisfaction.

Before his heart had been wrapped up in the St. Paul & Pacific, he had been seriously disquieted by the shilly-shallying in its railway policy, of the Mackenzie Government.

I am beginning to lose heart over the Canadian Pacific Railway and to attach less and less importance to it as a means of saving the situation at large.

This he wrote in 1876. A year later, he said: —

In so far as the facilities given for bringing in the supplies and sending out their products is concerned, it matters little how the people of Manitoba get it, so long as they get it.

How characteristic of him it was, that up to the debate of 1878, Mr. Smith had not considered it either desirable or necessary to confirm or deny the reports concerning his personal connection with the St. Paul & Minnesota Railway.[1] His reason for silence was to avoid bringing down upon his head the very charges of illicit interest and political corruption which Sir John Macdonald, then leader of the Opposition, launched at him and from which he defended himself.

The honourable gentleman [observed Sir John with unnecessary heat] admitted he was a partner in this concern, and the House should know something about it.

I beg the right honourable gentleman's pardon [replied Mr. Smith]. I admitted no such thing! The honourable gentleman, I hope, is not my father confessor.

The honourable gentleman [retorted the leader of the Opposition] has not denied it, and there is no doubt that, if he could have done so, he would. A little while ago, he denied positively that he had any interest in

[1] The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* first stated editorially on March 7, 1878, that the purchasers of the bonds of the St. Paul & Pacific Railway were Messrs. Hill and Kittson, associated with Mr. Stephen of the Bank of Montreal, and Donald A. Smith. It asserted that, through the influence of the latter, the support and coöperation of the Dominion Government have been obtained in the adjustment of their connections with the railway system in Manitoba.

the Kittson line, because he could say so. But he does not deny that he has an interest in the St. Paul line.

To this Mr. Smith rejoined that it was neither necessary nor desirable to satisfy the right honourable gentleman's curiosity.

Whatever I have done in this respect I have done in the most open manner possible. When it was found that others could do nothing in the way of getting better railway facilities and completing the railway connections in Manitoba, I certainly, as a Member from the Province, did my utmost to effect that. As I said on another occasion in this House, for two or three years back I have laboured earnestly to that end in connection with some friends, and no sooner did it become possible to get that which was so much required — indeed an absolute necessity for the country — than the honourable gentleman and his friends put every obstacle in the way of its being carried out. He comes to this House and says that the Government is actuated by unworthy motives in proposing to make running arrangements with the St. Paul & Pacific Company over the Pembina Branch, and that it was their intention to reward me in this way for my servile adherence to them. Now I would like to ask the honourable gentleman for Kingston [Sir John Macdonald] and any member of his Government, if on any occasion they found a disposition on my part to ask or receive any favour from the Government, either for myself or for that corporation which has been so much spoken of, and which I have had the honour of representing — the Hudson's Bay Company? I would ask the honourable member if I have received one sixpence of public money, or one place, either for myself, or for

any other person connected with me, and if at this moment there is one single person related to myself who receives one sixpence of the public money.

There could be but one answer to this question. Throughout his political career Donald A. Smith never asked for either place or favour. As a member of Parliament he drew no salary. As a Government Commissioner he accepted neither salary nor indemnity, even paying his own expenses. When in the course of time he became Canada's representative abroad, he forewent the emoluments of that office.

One passes hastily over the conclusion of this debate in Parliament, as one draws a veil over features dear to us, but so distorted as to provoke in the spectator a sentiment of pain. A scene occurred — "the most disgraceful," wrote George Brown, "in the annals of the Canadian House of Commons" — when Sir John Macdonald lost his temper, and together with his lieutenant, Sir Charles Tupper, indulged in vituperative language for which he was afterwards sincerely ashamed. Physical violence on both sides was narrowly prevented, and in such manner was the Session of 1878 brought to an undignified if dramatic close.

In the succeeding election Mr. Smith was again a candidate for Selkirk. On the hustings he disclaimed the title of "Mackenzieite" which his opponent foisted upon him. He denied that he had ever been a slavish supporter of either the present or the previous Administration. Throughout his parliamentary career he had been absolutely inde-

pendent and had never received a personal favour from either the present or previous Government to the extent of one single dollar.

In respect to Mr. Morris's charge that as head of a great corporation, I would lack weight in the House of Commons, how did that compare with the honourable gentleman's assertion that in the House of Commons I have been able to exercise undue influence in favour of the Hudson's Bay Company? There is a manifest inconsistency here.

If I have lost influence on account of my connection with the Hudson's Bay Company, how was it that again and again during the canvass I have been accused of having such power with the Government as to be almost a dictator? The argument of my honourable friend does not hang together logically. But the fact is that when I was returned to Ottawa by the voice of the people of this Province, I would command an influence there, and I intend to exercise that influence to the fullest extent. The honourable gentleman might speak slightingly of the business habits of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, as he had done, but those knowing the Hudson's Bay Company knew that it ranked among its officers many of just as much intelligence, business habits, and commercial morality and honour as were to be found anywhere in the world. The Governor-General at a dinner given in his honour in this city, had given his meed of praise to those gentlemen, and that was a testimony on which they might rest.

I do not profess to be a Cicero. I leave that distinction to my honourable friend. They boast a Disraeli and a Gladstone in England — men of ability, power, and persuasive eloquence. In this country

we have a Blake and a Sir John Macdonald — men ranking high as orators. But no doubt my honourable friend will show that these men have dwindled into insignificance — that in comparison with his, their powers of persuasion are vastly inferior and their skill in argument not to be mentioned in the same breath.[1]

The Mackenzie Government did not receive at the polls throughout the Dominion generally the support expected. At a meeting, the evening previous to the polling, Mr. Smith had told the electors that he had given an independent support to Mr. Mackenzie's Government, and he would consider it his bounden duty, when elected, to sustain any Government in passing such measures as were in the interests of the people of Manitoba and the North-West. All measures introduced into Parliament with that end in view, he would sustain and advance to the best of his ability.

As to the defeat of the present Administration, one reason above all others which brought this about was the idea which got into the minds of many people of the country, and, indeed, had been industriously instilled into them — that the great and widespread depression prevailing was the fault of the Government. That had more to do with their defeat, apparently, than everything else put together. Throughout his

[1] A further example of his platform satire may be cited: —

"I was not in public life at the time of Confederation and consequently was not aware until this memorable evening that to my friend [his opponent Mr. Morris], and a particular friend of his, were we indebted for the great work. It is well to know these things, so that credit can be given to whom credit is due. I admit that I might have been skeptical, but now, hearing it direct from my honourable friend's lips, I must accept it." (Speech, August 21, 1878.)

life he had never been a "fair-weather friend," and would express his belief in respect to the Government which had just fallen, that they were quite able to stand by their record, as one showing that they had sought to advance the welfare of the country at large.

On the morning of the poll the following letter appeared in the *Free Press* and attracted marked attention: —

The victory which the Conservatives have gained in the late election ought surely to satisfy the most exacting amongst them and allow them to step down from the platform of party feelings and give some consideration to the real position of the country in the present contest. Let us look at matters as they really stand. In the first place, the great question is, with us, railway communication with the East, without which we are bound to be at a standstill, no matter how much Sir John may seem to favour us. It is quite plain to any one that we will have to depend on the American outlet for the next three years at least, as, no matter how quickly Sir John may push on the road to Lake Superior, he cannot complete it within that time. Sir John A. Macdonald is too astute a politician to refuse to work hand in hand with Donald A. Smith in railway matters, especially as the latter gentleman wields a very great influence in that respect across the line, where Sir John cannot, if he would, interfere with him.

Suppose that Sir John should see fit to cancel the lease of the Pembina Branch to the St. Paul & Pacific, how much better off are we? The railway company has sufficient influence to arrange matters with the Northern Pacific by which the two lines can divide the

profits of a higher tariff of rates to the boundary line which the people of this country will be compelled to pay for the next three or four years, and this, in addition to an increase in the customs duties, will constitute a very serious burden on the people of Manitoba. Even when the road to Lake Superior is finished we will have but a summer route for another long period during which we will be at the mercy of American roads in winter. It is well known that no direct road can be built between Lake Superior and Winnipeg that will not take years and a large amount of money to construct. Sir John, therefore, in the interest of this Province, and in the interest of any schemes he may wish to advance for the opening-up of this vast country is not going to quarrel with Donald A. Smith in any railway matters merely to satisfy a personal grudge. If he did, could we blame Mr. Smith if he resented it? And then between Sir John A. Macdonald and Donald A. we in Manitoba would find ourselves in a nice pickle of fish. It is all nonsense to suppose that the Northern Pacific will launch capital to build a road, when they are so much in need of money to push on their main line, so long as they can make a satisfactory arrangement with the St. Paul & Pacific for the trade of this city. This is the business way to look at it.

Now, suppose we reject Donald A. Smith as a friend; is it to be supposed that he will take any particular pains to advance our interests? He has become a responsible party for millions, and it is very likely, indeed, that he will, when under ties of friendship for us, make what he can out of the investment without much regard for us in the matter. How is Sir John to prevent this, I would like to know? He may cancel the lease of the Pembina Branch, but is he, or will he

be, in a position to manipulate the line outside the Dominion? Donald A., I rather think, has been before him in this. It is not only probable but certain that the people of the Dominion would never sanction the expenditure of money to build up American railways. Sir John A. would never attempt it; he has had too bitter an experience in the past to forget the lesson.

The election resulted in Mr. Smith's favour; but the Opposition charged that a technical violation of the law had been committed and demanded an annulment. In the course of lengthy enquiry it was shown that refreshments had unwittingly been served to certain visitors at "Silver Heights" [1] and other malpractices indulged in, which, though innocent of themselves, might conceivably influence an individual's vote. But that any bribery or corruption, open or secret, could be alleged against the successful candidate was shown to be unjust and unreasonable. The case came before one Judge Bétournay, who, after carefully hearing the evidence, dismissed the charges.

Unhappily this same judge, who was universally respected, though far from affluent, had some years before sought to obtain a mortgage upon his property. The property was worth some eight or ten

[1] This residence, "Silver Heights," was occupied by many notable visitors including several Governors-General. The late Duke of Argyll, when Lord Lorne, stayed at "Silver Heights," which was one of the most beautiful spots in the Province. The old house at "Silver Heights," with its spacious galleries, quaint corners, and handsomely furnished rooms, was thrown open, on many occasions, for the entertainment of distinguished men and women, and its hospitalities became a household word in Manitoba. When the house was destroyed by fire a noteworthy landmark in the Province disappeared.

thousand dollars. He had applied to Mr. Smith's agent in Winnipeg, who had advanced him four thousand dollars on a mortgage. As Mr. Smith afterwards publicly stated: —

His agent had acted in this case, as in every other with which he had been connected in Manitoba, simply as his agent to invest money, and in most cases he did not know the parties dealt with or sums handled. The particular transactions spoken of in this instance took place in August, 1874, when his agent, Mr. Blanchard, a barrister of Winnipeg, was put in charge of his [Mr. Smith's] personal affairs in Manitoba, and who had invested for him to a considerable extent, on his belief that the security given was ample. Since that time he had no knowledge whatever of the transaction.

Yet when, as a newspaper sensation, the circumstance of the mortgage was revealed such a clamour arose that in May, 1879, Mr. Smith felt it was his duty to make a personal explanation to the House of Commons. After a simple narration of the facts he concluded by saying: —

He disliked very much to come before the House on any personal matter, and for his own sake would not have spoken. He had shown he had cared very little for what might have been said against him in the public press; but, when they knew that the reputation of a judge depended so much on the estimation in which he was held by the people, he believed that it was his duty to come forward and vindicate the judge reflected upon.[1]

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, May, 1879.

New Election ordered

Nevertheless, the matter was unscrupulously pressed by Mr. Smith's opponents, and on the contested election being argued before the Supreme Court, the decision was reversed and a new election ordered.

At first he decided not to offer himself for reëlection.

To W. F. Luxton

July 3d, 1880.

I thank you much for your telegrams; but notwithstanding the desire you mention, on the part of your friends, of which I have also had warm assurances from other quarters, that I should again offer myself as a candidate for the representation of Selkirk, with, I am informed, the certainty of reëlection, while greatly appreciating this proof of your continued confidence, I am unable to comply with your wish.

My engagements for the summer and autumn are such that I could not count on being able to be present during the election contest; and, apart from this, for three or four years back the attendance at the Sessions of the Legislature, in fulfilment of my duties to my constituents, has trenched so heavily on the time and attention required to be given to other affairs, that those friends with whom I am more immediately associated have repeatedly and very strongly urged me to withdraw from Parliament; a recommendation, unhappily, recently enforced by illness in my family, which makes it necessary for me to be absent a good deal from Canada.

In, for the present, closing a connection extending over ten years as the representative in the House of Commons for the County of Selkirk, including Winni-

peg, which from a small village has, during that period, grown to be an important city with a population of upwards of ten thousand, let me say to you that I am very sensible of all the kindness and consideration experienced at the hands of those friends who supported me, whether on political grounds or from sentiments of personal friendship to myself; that I shall always look back with much satisfaction to the very pleasant character of our relations toward each other, and that they and the Province of Manitoba, with whose interests I have been so intimately connected ever since it became a portion of the Dominion, have my best wishes for their happiness and prosperity.

Afterwards, yielding to the earnest representations of his many friends of both political parties, he consented to become a candidate for reëlection. "Liberals and Liberal-Conservatives alike will rejoice at this happy solution of the political problem. The cordial and spontaneous promises of support which have reached Mr. Smith from all quarters of the riding, and from all sections of the community, must have been as gratifying to himself personally as they are significant of the ultimate result of the contest." [1]

At the first joint meeting of the rival candidates Captain Scott said he found an honourable opponent in Mr. Smith. After referring to the lateness of Mr. Smith's acceptance of the candidature, he went on to say that Mr. Donald A. Smith was one who "was held — and justly so — in the highest respect by the people of Kildonan. He had not said and

[1] *Free Press*, July 12, 1880.

would not say one word against him, further than what affected his political career. Mr. Smith, who had represented Selkirk for the past seven or eight years, had represented the county well; but unfortunately he had so many irons in the fire that it was impossible to look after his own interests and those of the Province and do both justice."

At the close of the meeting Mr. Smith indulged in a little pleasantry at the expense of the Captain and his "honourable and learned young advocate," Mr. Prudhomme. "His playful sarcasms," observed the reporter present, "kept those two gentlemen squirming about in their seats as restlessly as though they had been sitting on carpet tacks, while the audience, appreciating the situation to the full, were kept in a high state of enjoyment. Mr. Smith also spoke briefly in French, after which the meeting broke up with the usual cheers." [1]

But so great was the popularity of Sir John Macdonald, and so zealous his friends to humiliate one who had had the misfortune to incur his displeasure, that the bye-election in September, 1880, could hardly fail to result in Mr. Smith's disfavour — Captain Scott had a majority of 158 votes.

In the Parliamentary Session of 1880, a great stir was attempted in respect of Mr. Smith's connection with "an American railway which was keeping British immigrants out of the North-West by advertising the superior attractions of the lands belonging to that railway."

"I am really disturbed about this," he wrote,

[1] *The Manitoba Free Press*, September 2, 1880.

"especially after incurring the serious displeasure of one or two of my fellow-directors, that I was not sufficiently eager to sell our Minnesota lands."

To the House of Commons he said: —

It is true that I have an interest in the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railway, perhaps three million acres of the lands in Minnesota. But I hope that does not make me less a Canadian than I would be otherwise. I have been in this country now for upwards of forty years, and can therefore claim to be as much a Canadian as most of the honourable gentlemen in this House. I regret that the honourable member for Montreal West is not in his place in the House, because I can recollect when he and the Honourable Peter Mitchell — who wrote those very pleasing and interesting letters, which have engaged the attention of honourable gentlemen, and in which he speaks in high terms of the lands in Minnesota — heard other testimony.

I can recollect that five members of this House and myself were on the train between Winnipeg and St. Paul together, on our return from Manitoba. We met the emigration agent of the Dominion Government, and that official, whom I then saw for the first time, on being asked, "Are any efforts made by the officials of the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railway to keep back emigrants on their way to Manitoba?" replied, "Certainly not; on the contrary, every possible assistance and facilities are afforded these emigrants for going through to their destination." He did say that some other American railway companies acted differently, but that had nothing to do with the road referred to. That such is the conduct followed by the

people of the St. Paul & Manitoba Railway has been fully substantiated by others, including the agents of Canadian railway companies, who have gone up in charge of parties of emigrants for Manitoba.

Other testimony, both in and out of Parliament, corroborated this. It was fortunate for this country that the St. Paul Railway Company and their lands in Minnesota were controlled by those who were so friendly to Canada, and anxious to give every reasonable facility for sending emigrants into the North-West of the Dominion.

Our instructions to our officials are that no attempt should be made to keep back these people on their way to Manitoba, but, on the contrary, to aid and assist them as far as possible, and I believe that these instructions are honestly carried out. The settlers, both on the Government and railway lands along the St. Paul & Manitoba Road, are principally farmers from Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, and other Eastern States, who, having sold their farms there at good prices, take up wheat lands in Minnesota, and each, in possession of capital ranging from one thousand dollars to perhaps fifty thousand dollars, contributes immediately to building up the country. These are Americans who naturally prefer their own institutions to ours, and so remain under their own Government; and honourable gentlemen must be aware that the great majority of Canadians proceeding beyond St. Paul, who do not go to and remain in Manitoba, become settlers in the Territory of Dakota, and not on the lands of the St. Paul & Manitoba Company.

No one can say that I have ever put forward the claims of the United States for emigration in prefer-

ence to Manitoba and the North-West Territory. Quite otherwise; and when recently in England, on the question of resources and development of Canada being brought forward at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, I took occasion there to speak in the most marked terms of the advantage Canada had over the United States in this respect, and in this superiority I firmly and faithfully believe.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY SYNDICATE

1880–1886

It is unquestionable that, despite those amiable traits which won him countless staunch personal friends, even amongst his political opponents, Sir John Macdonald rather inclined to inveteracy in his resentments. He frankly admitted as much himself. "When a man has done me an evil turn once I don't like to give him the opportunity to do so twice." He used to say that he deplored this disposition to cherish a grudge — humorously attributing it to a Highland strain in his blood, adding, however, "I fight against it and I believe I shall die at peace with my enemies." For a period of years Sir John chose to believe that Mr. Smith had been guilty of treachery in failing to support him on a critical occasion in 1873. He refused to credit the purity of Mr. Smith's motives. To a friend who undertook to demonstrate that the member for Selkirk was still a loyal admirer of himself, although obliged on a question of public policy to vote against him, he declared, "I don't believe it. If he was loyal he would not have deserted me."[1]

[1] While I quote these expressions on unimpeachable authority, Sir Joseph Pope reminds me that his old chief "was wont to characterize such a type of mind as fatal to success in a public man." Yet he admits that the "sore sometimes remained open." In the case of Donald A. Smith "it apparently healed up."

But this was not the real Sir John Macdonald. A long career in politics — a familiarity with politicians and place-hunters, many dealings with corrupt interests — had made him cynical; but it did not destroy his belief in private honour or public morality. He knew, and as years rolled on he confessed, the mistake he had made with regard to Mr. Smith. But for a long time his pride kept him silent.

On resuming power in 1878, Sir John's first care, after his cherished National Policy, which reversed the Free-trade tendencies of his predecessor, was to carry out the great transcontinental railway project to which the country had so long been pledged. Some tentative railway-building in the West, undertaken by his Minister of Railways, Sir Charles Tupper, only confirmed him in his belief that the day for haphazard and piecemeal construction was over.

> We must meet the difficulty [he had said] imposed on Canada by the reckless arrangements of the late Government with reference to the Pacific Railway, under which they pledged the land and resources of this country to the commencement of that gigantic work in July, 1873, and to its completion by July, 1881.
>
> That contract has already been broken; over a million dollars has now been spent in surveys, and no particular line has yet been located. The bargain is, as we always said, incapable of literal fulfilment. We must make arrangements with British Columbia for such a relaxation of the terms as will give time for the

completion of the surveys, and subsequent prosecution of the work, with such speed as the resources of the country will permit, and without largely increasing the burden of taxation upon the people.

In the mean time, some means of communication across the continent must be secured. It would be the Government's policy to unite enormous stretches of magnificent water communications with lines of railway to the Rocky Mountains, thus avoiding, for the present, the construction of thirteen hundred miles of railway, costing from sixty to eighty millions of dollars, and rendering the resources of the country available for the prosecution of these links, and they should endeavour to make these great works auxiliary to the promotion of immigration on an extensive scale, and to the settlement and development of those rich and fertile territories on which our hopes for the future of Canada are so largely fixed.

In 1879, Parliament placed at his disposal one million acres of land, but he was not able with that grant to arrange for any complete scheme for the rapid construction of the railway. In 1880, the Ministers again met the House, and met it with the same policy of the year before, namely, to take up in good faith the obligations that devolved upon them through the acts of their predecessors. Although they had not formulated the plan of carrying on the work by the Government, they took up the work as they found it.

But the method was exasperating and, considered as a means to an end, highly unsatisfactory. It was now clear that private capitalists must be found who would take the whole burden

off the shoulders of the Government. Were there any such? It soon appeared that there were. To some sanguine spirits, at any rate, the great scheme was infinitely more attractive in 1880 than it had been two years before.

In June, 1880, Sir John told his followers assembled at a political rally: —

I can say this, and the Minister of Finance, who is on the platform, can corroborate my statement, if necessary, that there are capitalists at this moment, who, knowing that there is a certain fortune to be made out of the construction of the railway, are asking that the work be handed over to them. They have said, "We will relieve you of all anxiety and the people of all apprehension of being taxed. We will take the railway in hand, build it, and make fortunes out of it." The Government, at this moment, has the offers so made under consideration, so that there is no danger regarding the road.

And at the close of that year, Sir Charles Tupper frankly stated to the House of Commons: —

One of the causes which led to the great change in the public sentiment in relation to the value of land in the North-West, and of railway enterprise in the North-West, was the marked and wonderful success that was published to the world as having resulted from the syndicate who had purchased the St. Paul, Minneapolis, & Manitoba Railway, and become the proprietors of that line. The statements they were enabled to publish showed not only the rapidity with which the railway construction in private hands could be carried on, but it showed the value of the prairie

lands in the North-West, and the extent they could be made valuable for the construction of such lines. It attracted the attention of capitalists in relation to enterprises of that kind to a degree that had a very marked influence, undoubtedly, upon the public mind in relation to this question. I may further frankly state to the House, because we have nothing to conceal, that when we decided that it was desirable for us to ask intending contractors and capitalists on what terms they would complete and take over the road of the Canadian Pacific Railway, we placed ourselves in communication with all the parties who we had any reason to suppose would have any intention to contract, for the purpose of getting their lowest possible offer.

It will be recalled that at the exciting close of the memorable Session of 1878, Sir John had twitted Mr. Donald Smith with being closely concerned with the St. Paul & Pacific Railway, and that Mr. Smith had refused to give him any information on this point. Albeit the facts soon became common property, and Sir John was in consequence averse to any negotiations in which the member for Selkirk would be a party. Moreover, the untoward events of 1873, which had hurled him from power, induced him to tread cautiously the devious ways of railway finance.

In the summer of 1880, he paid a visit to England.

Before we went [he explained] there was a provisional offer made to the Government, which was distinctly understood to be provisional. We subsequently re-

ceived a second offer, and the Government came to the conclusion, especially as we had an indirect intimation, verbally, that an offer would probably be made from New York and San Francisco, that we could not possibly settle the matter here. We decided to inform all the parties that we would attend to the reception of any applications, tenders, or offers, in London. Thereupon, the first party who made this provisional offer withdrew it and would not hold to it. The second party did not do so — this was an offer from England, and the party subsequently dropped their application. The communications that were made in England were principally, if not altogether, verbal. Gentlemen came over again and again from Paris and sat with us in the discussion of these matters. The first offer was withdrawn. The second one it would be unfair to disclose; as the honourable gentlemen opposite will see there were persons in it, bankers and others of considerable commercial standing, who were connected with that offer. They found they were not strong enough to press it. Their offer was made, of course, with the desire of coming in if they could, and being engaged in the construction of the road, and it would be hardly fair to them to use their names and to state that these persons failed in being strong enough to undertake the work. It would affect their position. The present offer is the most favourable offer, both as to money and land, that the Government or delegates received. Arrangements were made; we sat *de die in diem* as a little committee, meeting different gentlemen again and again. They were all desirous of making an arrangement, money being plenty and enterprise ripe on the continent of Europe, especially in France and England. They were all anxious to connect themselves with such

an enterprise. Some were appalled by the largeness of the scheme; some were frightened by the eventual responsibility; and one after another withdrew from attempts to be concerned with the railway. As to the present parties, we met them every day.

Sir John and his colleagues were honestly desirous of having, if possible, Canadians and Canadian capital undertake and conclude this great national project, which had for years been hanging fire.

Would Canada [he asked] be likely to have this contract carried out with the success we all desire, expect, and hope for, if we had made the contract with the strongest body of capitalists that could be found in the city of London? What would you have had? We would have had, the first thing, an English engineer, with extravagant ideas, totally ignorant of the work and the construction of railways through such a country, and we would have had, at no distant day — no matter what their resources might be — a perfect failure in their hands, and, worse than that, you would have had discredit brought upon the country in consequence of the parties which had purchased the bonds failing to obtain that interest which they justly expected from their investment.

On Sir John's return from England, there were various conferences with the financiers thus mysteriously alluded to, and as the result of these negotiations a syndicate now openly submitted the terms upon which it was prepared to build the Canadian Pacific Railway. In that syndicate the name of Donald A. Smith did not appear. Actu-

ally, its head was Mr. George Stephen, of Montreal; it was he who made the formal overtures to the Government.

Mr. Smith wrote to Mr. Stephen:—

I must not and do not complain of Sir John Macdonald's prejudice against me, which I trust time will tend to abate; but I shall not the less on that account exert myself to the utmost consistent with the conditions which that prejudice imposes.[1]

On the 1st of December, 1880, it was announced that a provisional contract had been made with a syndicate composed of George Stephen and Duncan McIntyre, of Montreal; John S. Kennedy, of New York, banker; Morton, Rose & Co., of London, England, merchants; Kohn, Reinach & Co., Paris, bankers; and Richard B. Angus and J. J. Hill, of St. Paul, who were subsequently incorporated as the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.[2]

Briefly, the syndicate agreed to finish the railway through from Montreal to the Pacific and operate it for ten years in consideration of a cash grant of $25,000,000, a land grant of 25,000,000 acres, and the portion of the railway already com-

[1] January 9, 1881.

[2] "It may be told that the owners of the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba Railway are members of this syndicate; and, Sir, I am glad to know that that is the fact; and for this reason, I say that, standing outside of this association, they were in a position of antagonism to Canada, because they were the owners of a line of railway to the south of our great North-West, and of large tracts of fertile land contiguous to that railway." (Sir John Macdonald, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1880.)

pleted upon which the Government had expended in round figures, $28,000,000.

The terms had only to be made known to cause a howl of execration to go up from the Opposition. It was roundly declared that the country had been sold. The bargain was denounced as unconscionable robbery on the one hand and perfidious acquiescence on the other. Hon. Mr. Blake pointed out that the eminent engineer, Mr. Sandford Fleming, had estimated that the cost of constructing the remaining two thousand miles would be $48,500,000.

To induce the syndicate to undertake this portion of the road we agree to give them $25,000,000 in cash and 25,000,000 acres of land valued at $50,000,000. By this cash and land grant we pay the syndicate the entire cost of building their portion of the road and $26,000,000 additional. The syndicate have, therefore, a profit on the building of their portion of the road of $26,500,000. We will then assume that the entire road is finished. What does the Government do, then? It hands to the syndicate the portion built by the latter, and on which the syndicate has already made a profit of $26,500,000 by building. It hands over also the entire road built by the Government. The syndicate get $26,500,000 and they get the entire Pacific Railway, estimated to cost in the neighbourhood of $80,000,000, a total of $106,500,000; and they get this on condition that they will be good enough to accept it and deposit $1,000,000 as security for running the road. But the Government did not stop there. The road and its equipment and the capital stock of the company were forever exempted from taxation.

Said the *Toronto Globe:* —

Under the bargain as it stands, it would appear that the company might shut up the unproductive parts of the road while still retaining the sections which still paid a profit. But supposing the Government could force them to relinquish the whole line in case of $3,000,000 default, the syndicate would care little for the surrender of $5,000,000 of large bonds, if they had made $26,500,000 and were able to escape the task of operating the road north of Lake Superior through the "sea of mountains" of British Columbia.

It is a fact that under this bargain the syndicate may go on to build the road, raising all the money needed for the work of construction and over $20,000,000 besides, and after their work is done, at the end of the ten years, coolly decide whether it will be most to their advantage to run the road or to throw it on the shoulders of the people of Canada. The net result of the whole scheme is that the Government is to pay $75,000,000 for the construction of part of a road which will cost $48,500,000; and if at the end of ten years money is to be made by running the road, the Government will be free from further exactions, and the company will be placed in full possession of a line which will have cost $80,000,000 to build and for which they will have received at least $110,000,000, but if the road will not pay, an unknown but certainly large sum will be called for to provide the materials for a traffic large enough to be remunerative, and a further amount to pay working expenses.

Another objection was that the $26,000,000 might be spent to no purpose. There was no security, except the reputation of the members of the

company, that the railway might not be "thrown back on the hands of the country again." According to Mr. Blake: —

Should the company issue land grant bonds, the Government will hold only $5,000,000 of those bonds as security for the maintenance of the road. Then the company may retire, and make money by doing so, if circumstances warrant a belief that the losses in running expenses will amount to more than $5,000,000. On the completion of the road the company will have received the larger part of the sum which the people are asked to pay as insurance against loss in running expenses. As the gentlemen now composing it may die or sell out very soon, the security for the maintenance of the line is practically nothing. Therefore, the payment of $26,000,000 in excess of the cost of the railway will not secure the country against the danger of political corruption. Even though the bargain should be duly carried out by the Company, dishonest politicians will have opportunities. Should a revision of the contract be demanded in the public interest, and such a revision certainly will be a necessity, the company may spend money, as all railway companies do, in order to secure political influence.

It would be tedious to recount the arguments employed on press and platform against a ratification of the Government's bargain with Mr. Stephen and his associates. The tumult was all in vain: the bargain was formally ratified early in 1881. The Canadian Pacific Company was incorporated and one of the most stupendous undertakings in history began.

Of the little band of men who had accepted the task it can now be said with certainty that they were never, as Mr. Smith said, from the first to the last day of those memorable five years, animated by any mere spirit of gain.

The First Minister will bear me out, when I say that Sir George Stephen and the other members of the syndicate did not approach the Government with regard to the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway until the Government had tried, in Europe and elsewhere, to get others to take it up, capable of carrying it through, but had not succeeded in this.

I say distinctly that the gentlemen who undertook the charter, although at first unwilling to assume the responsibility, ultimately consented, more with a view of assisting to open up the country than from any expectation of gain to be derived from it.[1]

By the terms of the contract the line was to be finished in 1891. The policy agreed upon by President Stephen and his fellow-directors in building the line was to press forward construction, so that, if possible, the line could be completed in five instead of the stipulated ten years. Contracts were given out, and in a few weeks thousands of workmen were straining every muscle to carry out the work. Meanwhile the existing road had to be operated and a population induced to take up lands in the sections through which it ran. The expenses were enormous — millions disappeared as into the maw of a vast monster, and more millions

[1] The Honourable D. A. Smith, M.P., *Parliamentary Debates*, May 26, 1887.

had to be found. Every economy was practised, save that which would affect the soundness and stability of the work.

The Government's Chief Engineer[2] said, in his report of September, 1883: —

> It affords me much pleasure to be able to state that the Pacific Railway Company are doing their work in a manner which leaves nothing to be desired. The road is being most substantially built. The larger streams are being spanned by strong iron bridges, resting upon abutments and piers of massive masonry, and the small streams on the eastern section will be passed through solid cut-stone culverts. On the central section the streams are for the most part crossed by substantially built pile bridges. The work, so far as it has been done up to the present time, has been performed most faithfully and in a manner fully up to the requirements of the contract. I am enabled to speak with confidence on this point, having made a personal inspection during the last two months of the work from a point east of Port Arthur (formerly Prince Arthur's Landing) to Port Moody.

By this time the practical management of the company had fallen into highly capable hands. Even before it had become certain that the arrangement would be concluded, the leaders of the syndicate had discussed the question of the official

[2] Mr. Collingwood Schreiber, C.B., who had succeeded Mr. Fleming, was the Chief Engineer of the Government Railways, and was also designated by the Government as Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and as such had charge of the completion of the two sections of railway which were to be turned over to the company; he also had charge of all engineering questions arising between the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

personnel of the Canadian Pacific Railway. To Mr. Hill there was then known Mr. William Cornelius Van Horne, the general superintendent of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway. This official, still in his "thirties," was notable even amongst the many notable figures which the vast system of American transportation had called into being. He was a scion of ancient Dutch stock, long settled in New York, whose name is so often mentioned in the pages of Washington Irving. In the words of Mr. Hill: "There was no one on the whole continent who would have served our purpose so well as Mr. Van Horne. He had brains, skill, experience, and energy, and was, besides, a born leader of men."

The provision of a three per cent dividend for the holders of the $65,000,000 of shares was arranged in the summer of 1883. It amounted to a purchase of an annuity of three per cent on these shares for ten years, based on the deposit of cash and securities with the Government by the company, which would, by actuarial calculation, at four per cent, yield in ten years the amount required.

This arrangement had hardly been completed and the deposit made when the failure of the Northern Pacific Railway, in the autumn of 1883, brought about a financial crash which defeated the object of the arrangement and resulted in the locking-up of all the cash and valuable resources of the company beyond recall. The situation was a desperate one, and was the cause of the visit of

Mr. Stephen and some of the directors, and Mr. J. J. C. Abbott, to Ottawa. The party went directly to "Earnscliffe" to lay the matter before Sir John Macdonald, and to point out the absolute necessity of immediate Government assistance, and he was asked to make a loan to the company of $30,000,000 to be paid over as the work advanced, and to be secured by a first lien on all the properties of the company. Sir John replied that it was absolutely impossible — that nothing of the kind could be done. He was obdurate and Mr. Stephen and his friends had to leave empty-handed and in despair. They proceeded to John Henry Pope's quarters in the "Bank Cottage," and told him all that had occurred. Mr. Pope apparently saw that the fate of the Conservative Party was involved in the matter, and, although it was past midnight, he proceeded at once to "Earnscliffe," asking Stephen and his party to await his return. When he came back about two o'clock in the morning, he merely said, "Well, he will do it."

The first application to the Government for money to carry on the work was favourably considered.

From George Stephen to the Honourable Sir Charles Tupper

MONTREAL, 24th October, 1883.

The capital stock of this company has been fixed at $100,000,000, of which $55,000,000 have already been issued.

It now requires a further amount of money to enable it to prosecute the work of construction and equipment at the same rate of progress as heretofore, and in accordance with its policy and in justice to its present shareholders, such amount should be obtained by means of the remaining stock of the company.

But in the present state of the market and of public feeling as to stocks generally, it would be impossible to dispose in the ordinary way of any further amount of stock at a reasonable rate, if at all, and the company is desirous of adopting the following plan as a mode of procuring the amount required: —

The company to deposit with the Government money and securities constituting a fund sufficient to pay semi-annual dividends for ten years on the entire stock of the company, at the rate of three per cent per annum. The amount required for this purpose has been ascertained to be $24,527,145.

This project would require the assistance of the Government, but merely as a depository of the fund to be created, and it would impose no responsibility or liability upon the Government beyond the periodical repayment of instalments of the amount deposited, with interest added at the rate mentioned.

I have, therefore, to request the favour of the coöperation of the Government in carrying out the suggested plan, and as I purpose leaving for England shortly, I should be greatly obliged if this matter could be disposed of at an early date.

Mr. Collingwood Schreiber, the Government's Chief Engineer, wrote to the Ministry: "This proposition commends itself favourably to me and

as the Government would, in my opinion, incur no risk in entertaining it, I beg to recommend its adoption."

In a further letter of the 6th November, Mr. Stephen now proposed a modification of the foregoing arrangement, namely, that the payment of three per cent for ten years be on a sum of $65,000,000 of stock only, inasmuch as the company only proposed to dispose of the stock, from time to time, in such amounts as may be necessary to meet the demands of construction.

The company offered to deposit the remaining $35,000,000 of stock with the Government, interest at three per cent to be paid on such part thereof as, from time to time, might be paid to the Government. The company asked that in carrying this arrangement into effect, the deposit representing three per cent for ten years on $100,000,000 be reduced to such a sum as would leave sufficient security in the hands of the Government to pay the three per cent for ten years on $65,000,000.

Two or three years before, Sir Sandford Fleming had stated it as his opinion that, "A continuous road from Lake Nipissing to the Pacific Ocean through Canadian territory will pay running expenses when three million people shall have settled in the North-West."

As a matter of fact, and happily for itself, the Canadian Pacific Railway, thanks to the astonishing skill of its management, paid its running expenses almost from the beginning.

Still, millions of dollars were needed for construc-

tion.[1] The hour momentarily threatened to strike when the millions were no longer forthcoming. For a time it seemed as if the daily demands could not be met, and the road was doomed to failure and the company to bankruptcy. Looking back on this phase now, it seems almost incredible that it should have been so. But the opinion of contemporaries upon the railway was not that universally entertained to-day. There were many who were ready to condole with Messrs. Stephen and Smith for their hardihood — there were many who freely predicted disaster, because they had embarked their own and others' millions in an enterprise which would not be able to return a profit until they had been many years in their graves.

The demands must be met, money must be procured, and consequently the company were driven to apply to Parliament for a loan. It was the signal for another explosion from the Opposition. What had become of the money already advanced by the Government? Where was the produce of the sales of land and land bonds? There must be something wrong somewhere. If it were not corruption, it must be prodigality.

The Deputy Minister of Inland Revenue was asked by the Government to go to Montreal in

[1] In April, 1885, the company had outstanding about $7,000,000 of notes maturing in two months, and no money was available to pay them. There was grave danger that all work would have to cease. The Government now made a short-term loan of $5,000,000. In 1886 the company made provision for the extinction of these loans, partly in cash and partly by a surrender of a portion of its land grant, which was taken over by the Government at $1.50 per acre. (S. J. McLean.)

connection with Mr. Schreiber, the Chief Engineer, for the purpose of making such investigation of the books and statements of the company as would assure beyond all question the accuracy of its statements of expenditure.

From Sir Charles Tupper to Messrs. Miall and Schreiber

OTTAWA, 28th January, 1884.

I have to request that you will, with all convenient speed, proceed to Montreal, with a view to investigating the books and accounts of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company so far as such examination may be necessary to enable you to verify certain statements of revenue and expenditure which have been laid before my colleagues and myself by that corporation.

I am aware that an exhaustive and detailed audit would entail the labour of weeks, if not of months. This is not expected. But you are required to make such examination as a prudent business man would desire to make before lending capital to, or entering into terms of copartnership with, a respectable firm. A copy of the company's statements is transmitted herewith.

The two gentlemen went, they examined the books and thus reported: —

As the result of our investigations, however, we have no hesitation whatever in submitting our opinion that the statements furnished by the President, and placed in our hands for verification, represent truthfully the actual condition of the company's affairs as portrayed by the books of the company.

It soon appeared that ulterior causes were at work to damage the credit of the company. Combinations were formed against the Canadian Pacific Railway by interested roads; the Grand Trunk Railway Company and certain American rivals strove to obstruct its progress, and the result of their combinations and machinations had been to prevent the Canadian Pacific Railway Company from disposing of its stock at a fair market value, — at such value as they had fair reason to expect to realize in order to apply the proceeds to the completion of their great work. But this was not all.

A great depreciation had taken place in the value of American railway securities, not merely in the New York market, but also in the other great money markets of the world — in Amsterdam, Paris, and London; and this depreciation occurred at the very time when the Canadian Pacific Railway needed the proceeds which they expected to obtain from the sale of their stock. To meet this difficulty, the company approached the Canadian Government and deposited with it a sum of money and securities sufficient to provide for the payment of three per cent of the five per cent promised by the railway company on a capital stock of $65,000,000. It was supposed that this provision for a limited amount of the interest promised by the Canadian Pacific Railway would have the effect, not merely of steadying the stock in the American, English, and French markets, but also of giving increased value to the stock, and that thereby money would be realized from the sale applicable to the prosecution of the work. Through a combination of circumstances this result has not been achieved, and the com-

pany has not been able to realize, from the sale of their stock, the amount they might fairly have contemplated.[1]

Mr. Donald Smith and his colleagues bore the volley of criticism and abuse directed toward them, patiently, and sometimes with humour.

They say [Mr. Smith wrote to Mr. Hill] we are authorized to build the flimsiest kind of road possible and that there are practically no guarantees for the working of the road after it is built. Thus one source of expense will be removed.

Moreover, you will have heard that, although we have fixed upon Montreal as the chief place of the syndicate for the time being, we really intend to move our headquarters shortly to St. Paul!

And again: —

The *Globe* retracts the statement that the Government have sold the country to the Pacific Railway Company. It now says they have *merely given the country away.*

A long and heated debate followed — one of the longest and most acrimonious in the history of the Canadian Parliament. The railway was attacked, its good faith was called in question. It was charged with gross extravagance and unnecessary waste of funds.

What [asked Mr. Charlton, M.P.] did Canada contract to pay for under this bargain? Did it contract to pay for a road from Nipissing to Montreal? It did not; and it was unnecessary for the syndicate to secure such

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, February 19, 1884.

a road until they required an outlet. Any road running in that direction would have been glad to have made terms with the Canadian Pacific Railway to carry their trade. It would have been an easy matter, in the case of the Canada Central, to have made a consolidation, and to have taken that road in as part of the Canadian Pacific Railway system, after the Canadian Pacific Railway was constructed. It was premature to purchase the road in advance of the time when the Canadian Pacific Railway required an outlet. Did we contract for a road to Portland in the State of Maine? We did not, and it was unnecessary for the syndicate to have acquired such a road. Did we contract with the syndicate for a road to Brockville? We did not. Did we contract with them for a road from Ottawa to Detroit? We did not. Did we contract with the syndicate for a road from Toronto to Owen Sound? We did not. Did we contract with the syndicate that we should back them up in making war upon the Grand Trunk and become a party to that conflict? We did not. Did we contract with the syndicate to establish a railway monopoly east of Lake Superior as perfect and galling as the monopoly existing under that contract west of Lake Superior? No; that was not a part of the contract. Did we contract with the syndicate to build a place for its president, and endow its members with millions of dollars for investment in stocks in England and other enterprises? We did not. Did we contract to stand sponsors for the ambitious and far-reaching designs of railway kings, to make the whole Dominion subsidiary and tributary to them? No, we did not. We are not parties to any such contract; but it is to carry out a contract of that character, to aid them to realize their designs, that they come

and ask Parliament for an additional subvention to the amount of $28,500,000.[1]

No; in the opinion of the Opposition there was no excuse for this company — no reason why they should be compelled to come to the House seeking help to bridge over their difficulties. Their resources were ample and abundant. They had millions upon millions in excess of the sum required to enable them to discharge the contract which they had made with the Dominion of Canada. They had made their bed, and though it were Damien's bed of steel, they must lie on it.[2]

Naturally the Opposition did not scruple to hint that the Government were receiving bribes from the company. Why this secrecy? Why this inde-

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, February 19, 1884.

[2] The hostility of the Grand Trunk exercised an adverse effect upon the credit of the Canadian Pacific. In the numerous pamphlets of the time, which, if not inspired by the Grand Trunk, were at least issued by partisans of that enterprise, the idea was spread that the Canadian Pacific was a mere speculative enterprise doomed to failure. The value of its lands was depreciated. It was stated that for "six months in the year the road will be an ice-bound, snow-covered route." The feeling existing in the minds of the unfortunate investors of the Grand Trunk that they had been unfairly treated was reinforced by the utterances of such a weighty financial journal as the *London Economist*, which cited the chartering of the rival enterprise, which apparently threatened the existence of the Grand Trunk, as an example of unfairness. The Canadian Pacific stocks fell, between December, 1883, and June, 1884, from fifty-seven to forty-two. The trade depression in 1884, which was the outcome of the speculative development of 1880–82 and the deficient harvest of 1883, further aggravated the evil credit not only of the Canadian Pacific, but of the Grand Trunk as well. In a period of six months the stocks of both lines were depreciated by $38,000,000. (S. J. McLean.)

cent haste? There was something that Mr. Blake and the Opposition members did not understand.

How is it that this syndicate exercises such unbounded power over this Government? How is it that the syndicate issues its dictates and the Government seems bound to obey? Does the syndicate possess some secret which, if breathed to the public, would blast the reputation and blacken the characters of its servants who are pushing this scheme through at its dictation.[1]

But of course the real question was, Was the country receiving, and likely to continue to receive, value for the money it had pledged, and was the security adequate? The reply of one member, Mr. Dawson (of Dawson Route fame), was conclusive:—

> The security is ample and sufficient. That it is ample there can be no doubt. They offer to make over to the Government every mile of the railway, the rolling-stock, and everything they possess, and surely such ample security as that ought to be sufficient. But, sir, there is a further security, which of itself is ample, and that is that not a dollar of this $22,500,000 is to be handed over to them except as the work proceeds. It will only be paid for work done. The money is not given to them to spend on any other project, but as the engineer reports a certain amount of work done, this money is to be handed over. Surely that of itself is a security which ought to satisfy the House.

Ultimately, the money was voted and the company were enabled to pay off the contractors and

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, February 19, 1884.

were granted a brief breathing spell. But it was very brief.

From D. A. Smith, M.P.

April 9th, 1884.

You will see by the enclosed that Mr. Van Horne is "pushing forward construction unflinchingly," from which you will gather that our resources are limitless and that we have not a care in the world. I fear such is too rosy a view of the situation. Our shoulders have to bear a vast burden, although our strength will, I hope, be equal to it.

As the great work proceeded, they were subject to anxieties and fleeting misgivings of which few, if any, in the outside world, were aware. Said Mr. Smith some months after success had crowned their efforts: —

With regard to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, it has been charged against the company, with which I am proud to be connected, as it will redound to the honour of the country, that we went before Parliament and that we got money again and again. It is true we applied for a loan of money, but we did not go as paupers. We did not go to ask for a penny that we had no intention of paying back. We went as you or I would go to our banker or to a neighbour, and say, "give us such and such an amount, whether it be $10 or $10,000, and if you do we will pay it back to you honestly, with interest; it will be a great benefit to me because it will further the projects and the work I have on hand." We went to the Government and asked them simply for the means to go on with the great national work. We promised we would

pay the money back to the last penny, and is there any man who can say to-day that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has not paid the Government back to the last cent? We are clear with regard to that. The loan was undoubtedly a great benefit to us and a great benefit to the country, while at the same time the country has not lost one single sixpence by the transaction. It has been said that myself and colleagues made money out of the railway. As a matter of fact, up to the present we have lost money, and we can never reap any benefits out of it other than what the shareholders receive.[1]

Mr. Smith's precision of language was second nature. Once, in the days of doubt and darkness, when the fate of the Canadian Pacific Railway was trembling in the balance, there was a directors' meeting in Montreal and the prospects of failure for lack of funds were long and painfully canvassed. At last the President brought down his palm forcibly upon the table and exclaimed, "Gentlemen, it looks as if we had to burst!"

Mr. Smith glanced deprecatingly at the speaker, and scratching the green baize cloth with his forefinger, said mildly, "It may be that we must — *succumb*, but that must not be," he added, raising his voice and gazing round the company, "as long as we individually have a dollar."

Once again in June, 1885, circumstances compelled them to go before Parliament for a loan. This time their enemies were alert and numerous. It remained to be seen what was the strength of

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, February 19, 1884.

their friends. The Government had stood by them so far, but how much farther did they dare? The mood of the House was distinctly hostile, but cash — immediate cash — was vitally necessary and the banks would grant no more.

Said the Honourable J. H. Pope in introducing the question of a fresh loan: —

> The only thing the company are going to ask from this House in the shape of money is that they may be assisted temporarily to the extent of $5,000,000, with ample security for repayment, and to be allowed to cancel stock of $35,000,000 and issue bonds, in order to pay the loan and complete the road. There is no money to be given for the completion of their contract — not one farthing — they do not ask for it. The arrangement is to be made, if at all, not in the interest alone of the company, but of the country, that the road shall be, in all respects, superior to the contract, and as good as any of the other transcontinental railways between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and in every respect in a position to compete with the other roads. The company desire to get possession of their property in order that they may use it for the equipment and completion of the road. And, to put it in first-class condition, they propose to pay off the indebted unsold stock, issuing instead the same amount of preferred bonds, the proceeds of which, when sold, to be appropriated to pay off $20,000,000 of the loan of last year. The other $15,000,000 of bonds will be deposited, or the proceeds when sold, first, $8,000,000 as security for a loan of $5,000,000 to pay off their floating debt, which loan is to be repaid in July, 1886; the balance is for the purpose of equipping and completing the road

in first-class style — far above the standard contracted for, and as security, we take the whole 21,000,000 acres. I think no honourable gentleman will say that the security we take is not ample, and does not secure us fully.[1]

Just then Parliament and the Ministry were absorbed elsewhere.

The mutterings of the Riel Rebellion were already heard, and the Government was full of anxiety. The loan to the company could not be obtained, although an advance of one million dollars was paid, a mere drop in the bucket of the company's indebtedness. The Government's guarantee of its bonds was not forthcoming. The opposition to the measure was at first rather fierce, but the very important assistance the company was able to render the Government in the way of moving troops to the North-West for the suppression of the rebellion, while Parliament was yet in session, pulled the teeth of the Opposition and consolidated the Government's support. Nevertheless the pas-

[1] Mr. Dawson. "The Chief Engineer of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Deputy Minister of Inland Revenue were sent down to investigate the books of the company, and what do they report? They report that these books were admirably kept, and that the statements before the House truthfully show the condition of matters as exhibited in these books. Sir, I prefer to take statements of that kind, verified by men in high positions, whose honour has never been impugned; I prefer them to the vague and wild statements which we have heard on every side for the last few days in this House. In a work so great as this there must always be something to cavil at. In a work which embraces a line of railway extending from ocean to ocean, and, with all its branches, has a length of over thirty-three hundred miles, it is surprising that there is so little to cavil at, instead of so much." (*Parliamentary Debates.*)

sage of the bill was long delayed because of the Franchise Bill, which preceded it and which the Government insisted on giving priority. At the middle of July, 1885, it had not yet become law. In the mean time, the company's obligations had been piling up, and its position had become extremely desperate. It was accordingly necessary to face the crisis at once, and on July 13, 1885, Mr. Stephen, accompanied by Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Abbott, the solicitor of the company, travelled to Ottawa to learn the decision of Sir John Macdonald's Government. They went direct to the Council Chamber, where they were made aware, by the hats hanging in the outer hall, that a ministerial council was in session, and in the ante-room they awaited the momentous result. There were rows of books locked in the official bookcases and a few newspapers and bluebooks which they had not the heart to glance at. They had even no zest for conversation: but sat there, in the stifling heat of a July afternoon, patiently waiting for the door to open and the Ministers to file out. But the members of the Council departed unobserved by another door, and hours later, speechless and dispirited to the last degree, Mr. Stephen repaired to the Russell House. In the corridor he sank into a chair. A friend accosted him after a time as he sat there, with his gaze fastened on the floor, and enquired how he felt.

"I feel," replied Stephen, "*like a ruined man!*"

That was the lowest ebb in a tide which afterwards flowed so high.

Largely through the friendly intervention of an influential Toronto supporter, Sir Frank Smith, the Government finally agreed to allow the issue of $35,000,000 of stock, of which it was to guarantee $20,000,000, leaving $15,000,000 to be issued by Mr. Stephen, Mr. Donald A. Smith, and their fellow-directors. Such a proposition was hardly tempting. The question was, Would the great European bankers consider it favourably? It was agreed that Mr. Stephen should journey to London to interview the Barings, of which famous banking firm Lord Revelstoke was the head. His surprise was great, when, before he had completed his lengthy explanation of the situation, Lord Revelstoke interrupted him, saying: "We have been looking into this question carefully, and if agreeable to you, we are prepared to take over the whole issue of £3,000,000 of stock at 91¾."

Mr. Stephen could hardly credit such good news. Nevertheless he asked with admirable self-possession, "How soon will the money be available?"

Whereupon Lord Revelstoke explained that it would require some months to arrange the details of the issue. Meanwhile, they offered to issue their own certificates for £750,000 at once, and three further sums of £750,000 at intervals during the month.

The question of solvency of the company was forever settled. Mr. Stephen instantly cabled out to Canada the good news.[1]

[1] In Montreal, when Mr. Stephen's cable arrived, two of his fellow-directors tore the message open. "In the tumult of our feelings we began capering about like school-boys, even to bestowing sundry kicks on the furniture of the board-room."

Lord Revelstoke's Action

There is a station of the great railway in the Canadian Rocky Mountains to-day, which bears the name of Revelstoke. It commemorates an important event in the financial history of the road, for the head of the great English banking house of Baring Brothers was not the least of the factors in the advancement and consolidation of the fortunes of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

From that time forward no shadow of financial darkness obscured the bright prospects of the road. Not only were the Barings as good as their word, but they continued to negotiate all the issues of the company until 1890. In that year, when they were approached for a fresh loan, they declined. The directors were astonished, but Lord Revelstoke said, "The security is excellent, but we believe the time has come when the Canadian Pacific Railway Company ought to sell its own securities over its own counter. As for ourselves, we will make a liberal subscription."

When an explanation at length was forthcoming, the Canadian directors had reason to feel a profound gratitude. For even then the historic firm of Baring Brothers anticipated those financial difficulties in the Argentine Republic which were to end for them in utter disaster; they were reluctant to involve the great Canadian railway in their fall. As Lord Strathcona said long afterwards: "It was most enigmatical to us, — that attitude of the Barings. Until our first issue went off it caused us many misgivings."

At last on the 7th November, 1885, upwards of

five years before the expiry of the time allowed by the terms of the contract, the railway was finished. It has been picturesquely written: —

If an inquisitive eagle, soaring above the lonely crags of the Rocky Mountains on November 7, 1885, had looked down upon a certain spot near the Columbia River and about three hundred and fifty miles from Vancouver, it would have seen a very unusual sight. A railway train had come to a standstill at this spot to allow a number of gentlemen to alight, and these, surrounded by a great concourse of workingmen, had gathered together to see one among them perform an action apparently simple and uninteresting. At the side of one of the shining rails was an iron plate with a hole in it, and through this hole a spike had to be driven which would fasten it firmly to the wooden sleeper.

Surely it was not necessary, you will say, for all these gentlemen to come from a distance to do what any one of the stalwart workmen could have done with the greatest ease! Ah, but it was a very special spike, the last of millions that had been driven in the course of constructing a railway which was to join the town of Montreal with the Pacific Ocean.

No bright flags waved in that lonely valley; there were no trumpets to sound a fanfare of triumph. Yet the consummation of a gigantic undertaking was being celebrated. As the vigorous blows from the hammer rang out, it did not seem an exaggeration to say that they echoed through the British Empire. As some one picturesquely wrote at the time:—

HON. D. A. SMITH DRIVING THE GOLDEN SPIKE ON THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1885

The shippers of Victoria, British Columbia, heard them and knew that they meant an increase in the carriage of merchandise through their town to and from Japan, because the railway would lessen the distance between London and Yokohama by many hundreds of miles. The farmers of Manitoba, a thousand miles away, heard them, too, and knew that they meant a larger market for their corn and fruit; and farther away still, in the old Canadian cities, the merchants heard them, and knew that commerce in the great western lands, hitherto unreached by railways, would grow more prosperous.

In Mr. Smith's own words: —

The last rail of the Pacific Railroad was about to be laid, the last spike was about to be driven. It was a dismal, dreary day in the first week of November, but we soon got out nto the open country, and presently it was one of those bright, pleasant, bracing days of the autumn summer. There were some gentlemen standing on the platform and looking at all this new country. One of them touched me on the shoulder and said he —

"The cattle on a thousand hills."

We soon got from the mountains to the prairie section again, where there are really thousands of cattle to be seen. That is one of the scenes in my life ever to be remembered.

To the station adjacent to the spot was given the name of Craigellachie, the Morayshire stronghold of Mr. Smith's ancestors on both sides of the family tree.[1]

[1] Sir William Van Horne writes: "The origin of 'Craigellachie' goes back to the inception of the enterprise, when one of the mem-

On the return journey of the party which had assisted at the foregoing interesting ceremony, Mr. Smith announced his intention of giving an entertainment in honour of the event at "Silver Heights." As his residence was several miles distant from Winnipeg, Mr. Van Horne had previously conceived the happy idea of giving Mr. Smith a surprise by having a short branch line constructed from thence to the town. The work offered no great difficulty; there were a large number of light rails and sleepers, left over from the work, close at hand. He gave the necessary orders and in a week or so it was completed.

On the morning in question [writes one who was present], our train (containing the party, including Mr. Sandford Fleming) approached Winnipeg. We were all engaged in conversation, and Mr. Smith apparently did not notice that the engine driver had reversed the engine. At last he looked out of the window.

"Why, we are backing up," he said; and then, "Now, there's a very neat place. I don't remember seeing that farm before. And those cattle — why, who is it that has Aberdeen cattle like that? I thought I was

bers of the syndicate wrote Mr. Stephen, pointing out they were all now fortunately situated and in going into the Canadian Pacific enterprise they might be only courting trouble for their old age, and urging that they ought to think twice before committing themselves irrevocably. To this Stephen answered in one word, 'Craigellachie' — which appealed to the patriotism of his associates, and not another doubt was expressed. It was a reference to the familiar lines, 'Not until Craigellachie shall move from his firm base, etc.' I heard of this when I first became connected with the company, and was much impressed by it, and determined that if I were still with the company when the last rail should be laid, the spot should be marked by a station to be named 'Craigellachie.'"

the only one. This is really very strange." Suddenly the house came into view. "Why, gentlemen, I must be going crazy. I've lived here many years and I never noticed another place so exactly like 'Silver Heights.'"

"Silver Heights," called the conductor. The car stopped and some of us began to betray our enjoyment of the joke. After another glance outside he began to laugh too. I never saw him so delighted.

Before nightfall a telegram arrived from the Queen, through the Governor-General, Lord Lansdowne, graciously congratulating the Canadian people on the national achievement, which Her Majesty was well advised in regarding as "of great importance to the whole British Empire."

On the 28th of June, 1886, the first through train over the completed Pacific Railway left Dalhousie Square Station, Montreal, on its long pilgrimage of 2905 miles through the meadows, primeval wilderness, fertile prairies, and the lofty mountains of the broad Dominion to Port Moody on the western coast. The event was too important for the city of Montreal for her citizens to permit it to go unnoticed. At eight o'clock on this summer night the ten cars and engine, which comprised the first through train, started on its journey amidst loud cheers and the booming of the guns of the field battery which fired a parting salute as the historic train departed from the densely thronged station.

This great national work, the Canadian Pacific Railway [declared Sir Donald Smith], has consolidated

the union of the Dominion; it has stimulated trade in the East, it has opened up the West; it has brought the rich agricultural lands of the prairies and the mineral wealth of the Pacific Slope within the reach of all; it has given Canada outlets both on the Atlantic and the Pacific, and has provided a new Imperial highway from the United Kingdom to Australasia and China and Japan.

The departure of this first train marked the consummation of that union of the British Dominions on this continent which was inaugurated on the 1st of July, 1867, and is second only in importance to the confederation of the four provinces that that day joined their interests and fate in a bond not to be dissolved while Great Britain maintains her supremacy over the northern portion of the new world.

Said the *Montreal Gazette:* —

The Pacific Railway is truly called a nation at work. The people of Canada gave freely of their wealth to secure its construction; they watched its progress through all the vicissitudes that befell it, under the care of three Governments, and lastly in the hands of the company whose courage and energy have carried it through to completion. They have just right to be proud of their achievement. For it is peculiarly a Canadian work. Canadians conceived it, designed it, built it, and almost unaided provided the money to defray its cost, and they will now, it is hoped, enter upon the enjoyment of the fruits of their courage and hopefulness. But the road is more than national; the future is big with promise that it will soon be known as a great Imperial trade route, serving to bind together

closer for mutual benefit, the interests of the Mother Country, not alone with Canada, but as well with those far-off antipodean colonists who are building up in Australia, as we are in North America, young nations imbued with the spirit of enterprise and constitutional liberty that has made England the first among the commercial powers of the world.

In one of the late Sir Adolphe Chapleau's speeches, during a critical time in the railway's history, there is an eloquent passage which well deserves to be recalled. He told the assembled House of Commons:—

Sir, the calumnies of those who want to vilify the Government, and who desire to destroy the credit of the country, of those who want to destroy the great work of the Canadian Pacific Railway, will be of no avail. They will be like loose winds, blowing sand and smoke, and carrying dark things with them. Their dark ideas and their dark thoughts, everything that is dark in their hearts, which is blown and breathed against us and against this enterprise, will not do more than those winds which cannot destroy the monuments of the old world. They may give a darker shade to the granite and the marble, but the solidity of the pyramids and of the great monuments of Europe will remain, as the Pacific Railway will remain, as solid as if these winds had not passed over it.

From the Marquess of Lorne

The Queen has been most deeply interested in the account which I have given her of the building of your great railway, the difficulties which it involved, and

which have been so wonderfully surmounted. Not one Englishman in a thousand realizes what those difficulties were; but now that the great Dominion has been penetrated by this indestructible artery of steel, the thoughts and purposes of her people, as well as her commerce, will flow in an increasing current, to and fro, sending a healthful glow to all the members. The Princess and I are looking forward to a journey one day to the far and fair Pacific.

Already the Queen had signified her sense of the great Imperial service rendered by the promoters of the railway. Upon the president was bestowed the dignity of a baronetcy and later, on May 26, 1886, Mr. Smith was nominated a Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

To Miss Mactavish

1157 Dorchester St., Montreal,
4th March, 1886.

You will, of course, have seen that Mr. Stephen has been made a baronet, and he is well deserving of any honour he would care to accept, although, perhaps, hereditary honours are out of place in Canada; but then he is at least as much an English resident as Canadian.

There has, indeed, been a great upturning in political circles since I last saw you and the uncertainty is evidently as great as ever. Gladstone and some of his friends appear, however, to be ready to make any concession, so long as he may thereby retain place and power.

At the annual meeting of the Bank of Montreal that month, he said: —

I should be very glad, indeed, to see as many as possible of our fellow-countrymen from every part of the Empire going there and reaping the benefits which by industry and perseverance they are sure to gain in the North-West. Allusion has been made to the opening-up of the Canadian Pacific Railway to the Pacific Ocean. If the directors of the company have deferred the opening somewhat, it has been that they might be so prepared that no invidious comparisons could possibly be made to the detriment of the railway. I may mention, as one instance of what we may look forward to in the future from the opening-up of the country traversed by the railway, that I heard from the vice-president, Mr. Van Horne, the other day, that a ship had left or was about to leave Yokohama with a cargo of teas for Vancouver, and that these teas are to be carried over the Canadian Pacific Railway, and delivered not only in Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto, but in St. Paul, Chicago, New York, and the New England States. This shipment would be equal to about one hundred carloads and would be a very substantial commencement of the trade which we expect with China and Japan.

I think we may look with great hope to the future from such a commencement, and while business may not be so prosperous at this moment as we would wish it to be, still we may confidently anticipate that the business of Montreal and of Canada will steadily enlarge, and that with the same efficient management of the bank which has secured such good profits to the shareholders, the results will not only be equal to what they have had in the past, but will be even better.

Before the meeting closed Mr. Crawford said: —

I believe I voice the sentiments of the shareholders present in tendering our sincere congratulations to the vice-president of the bank, Sir Donald A. Smith, for the mark of distinction which Her Gracious Majesty has been pleased to confer upon him, an honour which I trust he may long be spared to enjoy, and also to adorn. It is a fitting complement to the distinction conferred upon his colleague, Sir George Stephen.

Less than twenty years later[1] Lord Strathcona, in opening the new and palatial London offices of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, took occasion to tell the distinguished audience then assembled: —

Thirty-five years ago there were not, perhaps, five people in Canada who thought there could ever be a railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific, in the Dominion, round the north of Lake Superior. However, the Government were determined, and entered into a contract with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. That was in 1880 and the Company had ten years to complete the line, but it was generally considered that quite another ten years would be required. The road, however, was completed on November 7, 1885, and in 1886 was opened for through traffic. The resulting benefits to Canada have been very great. Previously there had been no means of going to North-West Canada except by the United States, but now it was possible to travel from Montreal to Winnipeg in two days and to British Columbia — that was to Vancouver — in four and a half days — a very great change, indeed!

[1] January, 1904.

Sir Charles Tupper's Tribute

At the time the contract was given out, it was believed that the railway could not possibly be a success: one eminent statesman, indeed, said that it would "never earn enough to pay for the grease required for the wheels of the carriages." To-day it was an assured success. Not only did their line run from St. John to the Pacific, but in connection with it the Empress line of steamers ran to Japan and China, and there were no more comfortable steamers on the ocean. More recently the company had taken up a line of steamers from Great Britain to Canada, the Far East, and Australia. In good time would come a much faster service of steamers, as a complement to the railway. As a result of the great prosperity of Canada the traffic was increasing and it was bound to go on increasing. When the railway was begun there was nothing to send from the North-West but the furs of the Hudson's Bay Company. Within the last two years, however, the North-West has sent out more than one hundred million bushels of grain![1]

Sir George Stephen was the actual head of the undertaking: no one could justly minimize the signal part he had played. At the same time few tributes paid to Sir Donald Smith were more just, and, it may be added, more gratifying to the man whose prescience foresaw and whose strong hand

[1] "As to the Canadian Pacific Railway, in connection with which the popular imagination has always inclined to exalt him [Mr. Smith] above all others, — he well knew what was due to others as well as to himself, and remembered to give credit where credit was due. In accepting a presentation in London in November, 1907, he used these words: 'Had it not been for the cordial coöperation of all my colleagues who undertook the contract it would have been impossible to have carried it through. Happily we were all in perfect accord.'" (Sir William Peterson.)

educed and promoted this great national project, than that uttered by Sir Charles Tupper in 1897: —

The Canadian Pacific Railway would have no existence to-day, notwithstanding all that the Government did to support that undertaking, had it not been for the indomitable pluck and energy and determination, both financially and in every other respect, of Sir Donald Smith.

Amongst those snow-capped mountains two lofty summits bear the names of these two Morayshire kinsmen. As long as the earth's surface remains unaltered and our language and traditions survive, Mount Stephen, on the one hand, and Mount Sir Donald on the other, will rear their heights heavenward, to commemorate one of the greatest achievements of patriotism, industry, and engineering since the days of the Roman Cæsars.[1]

NOTE TO CHAPTER XVIII

Alluding to the increased prosperity of Canada in fifteen years, Sir Richard Cartwright, late Minister of Trade and Commerce, stated that in 1896 Canadian Pacific Railway stock, "which is now near $300 per share,

[1] "The conception of a transcontinental railway was a magnificent act of faith on the part of the Canadian Dominion. The Dominion contains a population of under five millions of people, and its area consists of nearly three and a half millions of square miles. Such a population, inhabiting so vast a territory, has manifested so profound a faith in its own future that it has conceived and executed within a few years a work which, a generation ago, might well have appalled the wealthiest and most powerful of nations. It is a material manifestation of the growing solidity of the Empire, and a proof of the invincible energy of the Canadian subjects of the British Crown." (*Canada and the Canadian Pacific Railway.*)

MOUNT SIR DONALD IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

was selling at $50." In other words, the whole common stock of the Canadian Pacific Railway was worth at current market price $32,000,000 in 1896. It is now worth over $500,000,000. The total number of homestead entries in the North-West was in that year 1300 as against an average for the last few years of 30,000 and 40,000. Take the volume of trade and commerce for the Dominion. In 1874 this had touched $217,000,000. In 1896, with an increased population of 1,000,000, it was barely $239,000,000, being a considerable reduction *per capita*, and a total growth in twenty-two years of just $1,000,000 a year; and in 1911–12 it was over $650,000,000.

CHAPTER XIX

THE MANITOBA SCHOOLS QUESTION

1886–1896

For five years Sir Donald had ceased to be a member of Parliament. His prestige throughout the country following the triumphant completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and his reconciliation with Sir John Macdonald, made it highly probable that before the next general election, he would be offered a nomination in some constituency. The long-wished-for reconciliation with Sir John had been brought about in the simplest and most natural manner. Mr. George Stephen, calling upon Sir John at his hotel in London, was accompanied by Mr. Smith. The visit was unpremeditated. They shook hands cordially; there was no embarrassment, no allusion, tacit or overt, to what had passed — the conversation was pursued as naturally as if they had met but yesterday and a schism had not yawned between them for more than a decade. The healing of the breach between the two statesmen was complete, and I have the high authority of Sir Joseph Pope for stating that never thereafter, in public or private, by word, look, or gesture, did Sir John reveal any but the frankest and most unclouded cordiality for the former member for Selkirk.[1]

[1] I am indebted to a friend for the following interesting incident

A Winnipeg Deputation

Winnipeg was not long in expressing a desire for Mr. Smith's parliamentary services. A deputation from that city waited upon him in Montreal toward the close of 1886 and besought him in the most flattering terms to become the candidate.

I told them that while fully alive to the compliment they paid me, and much as I felt drawn to a constituency full for me of pleasant associations, I was not eager to return to political life and that, as the matter had taken me by surprise, I must have time for consideration.

It was then that a close friend and neighbor, Mr. James A. Cantlie,[2] observed: —

If you really again contemplate Parliament, why go so far afield as Winnipeg for a seat? There will shortly

illustrating the relationship between the two men. A private bill, inimical to the Canadian Pacific Railway, was impending. Accompanied by one of his colleagues, Mr. Smith, late one evening, was duly ushered into Sir John's study. There was a small desk in one corner before which the Prime Minister, after a dignified greeting, seated himself. Mr. Smith recapitulated the situation, then rising he began to approach the front or back of the desk, facing Sir John, uttering a pregnant sentence with each step forward. "You see, Sir John, this thing cannot be. It must not be, Sir John. It must not, it *really* must not be." Raising his voice, he reached the desk and leaned over it, shaking an ominous forefinger, while the Prime Minister shrank back, "I tell you, Sir John, it MUST NOT BE !"

Sir John's expression relaxed. "Come, come, Mr. Smith," he said with a smile, "I never said it would, could, or should be. Pray sit down." He then explained that the Government had no intention of giving any unfair advantage to a rival road, and after having furnished the fullest assurances on this head, shook hands with his visitors and accompanied them, good-humouredly, in the "wee, sma' hours," to the door.

[2] One of the most respected citizens of Montreal, and brother-in-law to Lord Mount Stephen.

be a vacancy in Montreal West — I can assure you of a triumphant return.

No decision had been reached when Sir Donald left for England, but it scarcely came as a surprise when in London, at the close of 1886, a cablegram reached him from the chairman of the local Conservative Association, advising him of such nomination. He instantly replied: —

I appreciate the honour of nomination and accept it, if electors are satisfied with my assurance that as an independent member, uninfluenced by any other considerations than those having in view the best interests of our common country, I will, if elected, use every effort to further the material progress of the Dominion, and to promote the prosperity of the City of Montreal.

To Miss Mactavish

Brown's Hotel, London,
3d January, 1887.

Although there is nothing much the matter with me, I have not been able to be out of the hotel for more than three hours altogether since my arrival here on Sunday of last week. Sir Andrew Clark, however, tells me there is nothing organic and that I may expect to be "all right" again very soon.

Lord Randolph Churchill's escapade has, indeed, the appearance of an extraordinary freak, and yet, of course, we do not know all the particulars as they affect both sides. Still, to have abandoned his colleagues at such a moment hardly appears capable of being justified. Let us hope the accession to the Ministry of Mr. Goschen will make up for the loss of the other.

Although I do not go out, Sir George Stephen and some other friends occasionally spend part of the evening with me: so that I am not left absolutely alone.

Afterwards in February, addressing the electors in Montreal, he told them he did not intend to make any explicit statement of his political principles: —

I was an active politician of the time when the good old custom — if it were a good old custom — was in vogue of verbal nominations, when each candidate spoke about the other, and sometimes when he did not spare his opponent's feelings. But since you have been so very good to meet here on this occasion to reaffirm your approval of my nomination as your candidate for the Western division of Montreal, I must tell you that it is very gratifying to me, indeed, and that I value very highly the good opinions of the gentlemen whom I see before me, as well as of many others who, I am informed, look favourably on my nomination.

I am disposed to judge of measures more than of men. At the same time, if a Government may have made some blunders, I am not disposed to oppose them because of this. We know that success depends not on absolute perfection, but that with individuals as with governments, to make fewest mistakes is the criterion of success. I will not be disposed to denounce the whole policy of a Government because of this measure or of that measure, provided it be not one of principle and one calculated to be injurious to the community and the Dominion at large. I come forward as an independent candidate, prepared to give my support to what I believe is in the interests of my constituents and of vital interest to the Dominion.

There was, however [he continued], one great ques-

tion affecting the country upon which he hoped sentiment was united.

I shall do everything in my power that may be required in forwarding the interests of the Dominion in respect to what is known as the National Policy and I shall encourage that due and proper protection which is necessary for the industries of a new country.

We are not usually given to boasting in Canada. We know, and we are not ashamed to own, that we are a smaller and poorer people at this very moment than those on the other side of the line. While they maintain high protective tariffs, if we allowed everything to come in here just as they should like, we all know what would very soon become of Canada. We must judge facts by the circumstances of the moment, and of the place; while free trade may be very good for England, and while I might support it there with certain modifications, I should be very sorry to see it introduced in this country and would oppose its adoption. I do not mean that duties should become so onerous as to militate against the material interests of one class or the other. The National Policy is for the benefit of all. We know that if you have not manufactories and if you have not the means of giving work to the people of the country, you cannot have prosperity and progress. While we may have articles at a low price, yet, if wages were also very low, the workman would lack the means of purchasing them. Simply to be able to purchase at a low price, with wages also exceptionally low, would be no advantage to the people. But we know, on the contrary, that the effect of protection has been materially to increase the demand for labour and raise the wages of the workman, without adding to the costs of the necessaries of life. If you have not

your industries "in full blast," you can have no prosperity.

He had become an earnest advocate of technical education, a field of effort which he afterward left to his friend, Sir William Macdonald.

There is one reform which I think should be introduced into Canada, so as to enable our employers of labour and those whom they employ to compete with the other people of other countries. I think we should all — manufacturers and workmen alike — put our shoulder to the wheel and endeavour to have established technical and trade schools, which would be of immense advantage to the great mass of the people. We all know that occasionally there is a slight suspicion thrown on the sincerity of promises made during an election campaign, so perhaps it is better I should not make too many promises, but this I believe to be a benefit to the country, upon which men of all shades of politics can join.

I am proud to find gentlemen who have met together not because they belong strictly to one side of politics or to the other, but that notwithstanding they have views on certain matters different from each other, they come to give me their support on this occasion. It shall be my first effort always to show that their confidence has not been misplaced, and if returned to Parliament by your suffrages, I shall, as long as I represent you, do my utmost to promote your interests.

On another occasion he said:—

In connection with the condition of working-men I believe that such means should be placed at their disposal, at the public cost, as would enable them by

technical education to become the most skilled artisans. This is not a new idea of mine. I have for years past advocated technical education in Canada, to enable our working-men to compete with those of other countries where the system is in operation. France was the first to introduce it, and soon the working-men of France became more skilful in artistic work than those of England, and England had to follow the example of the French. Would it not be a grand thing for us to say of any artistic piece of workmanship, "That was made in Canada"?

Sir Donald went on to touch on the subject of "temperance" which was even then "a vital and burning question." He was no bigot himself, and discouraged it in others.

I am not afraid to speak on the subject of temperance here or anywhere. I have been temperate throughout all my life. I have taken a glass of champagne, or a glass of some other wine; but I have never taken too much. I may even have enjoyed a glass of liquor, but I always allow my friends who think otherwise to do according to their will. I respect no man better whether he abstain altogether or whether he drink in strict moderation. I shall always be in favour of laws that can advance the cause of *true temperance* in the country.

As the campaign proceeded he addressed many meetings. Thus, early in February, he dealt with the tariff question: —

We are all fighting in a good cause — the industries of this country of ours. The question is not a party matter, but one which men of all parties can join

heartily in, which they cannot do if the issue be narrowed down to a mere party question. It cannot be denied that a new country cannot hold its own against a rich and powerful neighbour, fully equipped with the best methods, appliances, and machinery, and a hundredfold more wealthy, unless that new country protects its industries and thus protects itself. It is entirely different in England and Europe, which for hundreds of years have controlled the commerce and markets of the world, and have been so long established that they fear no competition. England had established "free trade" and for years had maintained it against the nations of the world, but even in England they are beginning to realize that it is not perfect. The other nations did not come to meet them, and to-day there is a strong feeling throughout the land that "fair trade" would be more equitable to the whole people. As a nation, Canada does not want undue protection, but on such goods as can be produced in the country the duty should lie. As regards luxuries, he was of the opinion that taxation on them was highly justifiable. He spoke of the excellent native wines produced in this country, and thought if we had to pay a heavier duty upon imported champagnes, we might, perhaps, produce these native wines of a better quality. Many persons may be found who would say that increased duties mean an increase in price, but this was erroneous. It had been proved, and most conclusively proved that the very opposite is the case when properly protected native industry can supply what is required more cheaply than outsiders. As a matter of vital interest to farmers, he instanced the article of land plaster, which a few years ago was entirely imported, and to-day it was manufactured in

Canada and sold cheaper now than ever before. While the farmers got the article cheaper, the workmen now received from $1.40 per day, while under the Mackenzie régime they worked for 90 cents and $1. With clear consciences the electors of this great Dominion might all use their best efforts and work together to "let well enough alone."

It must be, of course, understood that the present Government are progressive enough to introduce any measure that will tend to the improvement and advancement of the country. We are all agreed as to the necessity that exists for protection, and that those engaged in our industries should be put in a position to compete successfully with the manufacturers of other countries. To do this, mechanics and others should receive the advantages of all available technical knowledge, not merely the "three R's," but a thorough practical knowledge which will fit them to take the best places in their sphere of life. It is the workman of to-day who is being fitted to become the employer of the future. If elected I will do all in my power to put within his reach all such knowledge as would assist him in being worthy the confidence of the people.

Coming down to the city of Montreal, there are subjects of the deepest and gravest importance, notably the deepening of the harbour. It remains with ourselves, the citizens, to make Montreal not only the second to no city in Canada, but second to none on the Continent. Such works as these are not of merely municipal character, but are of benefit to all other places in the Dominion, and as a city we now have a right to insist that the expense shall no longer be borne by us, but shall be taken up by the Dominion, as the Dominion at large thereby benefits.

The "National Policy"

He had to dwell frequently upon the so-called "National Policy":—

We all know that for some eight years back, we have had a measure of prosperity in Canada which was absent for many years before. We know and we appreciate that this in a very great measure is owing to the proper protection which has been given to the industries of Canada by the Conservative Government. This protection was necessary to make Canada a great nation. If we had not the National Policy, Canada would have been swamped by the importation of goods from the United States and elsewhere, and we would neither have manufacturers in the country nor employment for our people. Therefore it is that I believe we should maintain the position which we now hold and which I shall endeavour to do so far as it lies in my power. I feel that in voting for the supporters of the National Policy you will be supporting your own interests.

In one of his speeches he told how, when returning on the steamer to New York, he met an American gentleman. The talk turned on the National Policy in Canada, and his acquaintance, being an extensive manufacturer, took some interest in the question, holding that, before the National Policy was introduced in Canada, he was doing a fine trade, but since Canadians learned to make their own goods for their own markets, and to protect their native industries, he could not sell in Canada at all.

The question for working-men and manufacturers is, "Do you want to return to lower wages and to lower

prices for the necessaries of life?" as was the case during the Liberal Administration, or, "Do you wish to remain happy and prosperous and progressive as you are at present?" The course for the constituencies is to support the National Policy candidates, to keep things as they are, and to make them as much better as we can. One of the largest woollen manufactories in the Dominion wrote me how the National Policy affected their factory in Sherbrooke. Before the introduction of the National Policy, the wages paid to employees were $80,000, and for the seven years since, the wages were more than fifty per cent beyond this. During the seven years of the National Policy they had paid $246,000 more to those employed in their factories than they did before there was protection for the industry. As is the case with one factory, so it is all over Canada, and as our population and industries grow, the necessity for this policy on the part of the Government will become all the more imperative if our country is to prosper. I have no doubt that you, the electors, will see the necessity for sustaining the Government in this policy, and that you will give a hearty and generous support to the candidates who are pledged to advocate it.

On previous occasions, as now, I have stood before many French Canadians, and am proud to say I always have had their support. I have, indeed, had in the past a very warm support from my French Canadian countrymen, and I believe I will have their support, too, in the present contest. It is not my own battle I am fighting, because there is nothing that can benefit me that will not benefit you, and if elected, as I have every confidence I shall be, I will do all in my power to forward the interests of my constituents.

Speaking of the customs regulations, Sir Donald remarked: —

Unquestionably it is absolutely necessary that the customs laws should be enforced with as little inconvenience as possible to the merchants, having regard to the due collection of the duties. There can be no necessity or excuse for a friction between merchants and importers with the law properly laid down, and no difficulty should arise with officers who know and discharge their duties faithfully, and at the same time with civility and courteousness to merchants. I consider it the duty of a representative of an important commercial community like this to see that the laws are satisfactorily enforced, and I shall certainly make it my duty to see to this when, as I believe, you will elect me as your member.

On the 23d of February the election took place, and he was triumphantly returned. In the course of a speech on that day, he said: —

The employer and the employee, both alike, were bent upon protecting the great interests of this great country. Having honoured him with their confidence, he trusted that he would be able to prove to them that that confidence was not misplaced. It was the duty of all to work together to support the National Policy. It was that policy which made Canada what she is, and the people of Montreal had declared that there should be no retrograding, no going back to an era of depression and soup kitchens. For himself he would prefer to have a little leisure, but there are times when for the public good a man must not study his own convenience. Anything he could do in the interests of domestic manufactures and of the country at large

should be cheerfully done. If we did not take care of ourselves, no one else would. Canada shall be no "slaughter market" for the United States, and while we are all prepared to go in heartily for Reciprocity, we want no one-sided arrangement.

A banquet was given in honour of the new member in the following month. Replying to the toast of his health, he said: —

Having spent fifty years of my life in Canada, I also can claim to be a Canadian. And while calling yourselves Canadians you can also rejoice in the rejoicing of the Mother Country, and that you will have this year an opportunity of celebrating the Jubilee of Her Majesty. We have cause to be satisfied that we have been under the beneficent reign of that Queen and that no part of the world has progressed more during those fifty years than Canada. With all the facilities we at present enjoy for coming together, with the railway, the telegraph, and the telephone facilities, where those two thousand miles away are brought nearer together than was Montreal and Ottawa thirty years ago, what will this country be thirty years hence, if we are true to ourselves?

Jointly with his cousin, Lord Mount Stephen, he set apart one million dollars to erect a great hospital in Montreal to commemorate the Queen's Jubilee. Later, when the building had been erected on the side of Mount Royal, they gave equally in the sum of $800,000 to endow the institution. There could be no finer site for a hospital, overlooking, as it does, the whole city of Montreal and the valley of the St. Lawrence. Behind rises the

mountain, terraced with sylvan retreats; before lie the squares and steeples, and the glittering river; and beyond that, on the south shore, the open country, with here and there a domed mountain. At intervals a town or village is visible or the metal-cased steeple of a parish church that flashes like a poniard in the sun.

This hospital, the Royal Victoria, is one of the best equipped institutions on the continent. Modern science was drawn upon to furnish it adequately, and by reason of its large endowment it has since kept pace with the newest discoveries and inventions.

But this was not the only institution which was to bear the name of Victoria. He had long ere this had his thoughts directed toward educational plans and problems and was a liberal patron of McGill University. In October, 1886, an endowment was created in aid of the higher education of women, amounting to $120,000, which sum was to be devoted to provide a collegiate education for women in the manner and form and for the time being as declared in the deed evidencing such endowment. By that deed it was also provided that in the event of the donor, by himself or in conjunction with others, taking further steps for extending the endowment and obtaining an act of incorporation for a college for the purpose named, the donation should be transferred to the college. A year or two later Sir Donald communicated his intention to found an endowment for a college, with a preparatory school or branch to be established in

Winnipeg or "at such other point or points in the Province of Manitoba or the North-West Territories, or in British Columbia, as shall hereafter be determined." An act of incorporation was obtained from Parliament, of the Royal Victoria College. The completion of this scheme was, as we shall see, deferred for some years.

In February, 1888, his only daughter, Margaret Charlotte, married Mr. Robert Jared Bliss Howard, of Montreal, son of the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at McGill University. Three years later Sir Donald's first grandson, Donald Sterling Palmer, the present heir to the barony, was born.[1]

On November 1, 1889, Sir Donald was inaugurated Chancellor of McGill. The ceremony took place in the William Molson Hall, and the room was crowded with influential citizens and students of both sexes. The Governors and the faculty entered the room attired in their robes, and were loudly cheered by the students, who rose in a body to receive them. Sir Donald followed in his black gown, with red hood, cap in hand, walking slowly past the rows of cheering students.

The chairman introduced the new Chancellor. Having alluded to the fact that Sir Donald's exalted position, and the interest he took in the cause of education, entitled him to a high place in their regard, he said that in selecting Sir Donald

[1] A daughter, Frances Margaret Palmer (now the Honourable Mrs. Kitson), had been born in 1889. A second grandson, Lieutenant the Honourable Robert Henry Palmer Howard, born in 1893, was killed in action in May, 1915. The other children are Edith, born in 1895, and Arthur, born in 1896.

MARGARET CHARLOTTE, THE PRESENT LADY STRATHCONA
circa 1885

Smith as Chancellor they felt that the honour was well bestowed.

The senior member of the Board of Governors, Mr. Peter Redpath, then conducted Sir Donald to the chair amid cheers. Mr. Redpath congratulated him upon his election to an office of which any man might be proud, which was the highest honour the university could bestow. The Governors, in choosing their Chancellor, had not disappointed public expectation, and he believed that under Sir Donald's administration the university would continue to enjoy the prosperity which had for a number of years attended it. In response the Chancellor said: —

I thank you as earnestly and as sincerely as it is possible for me to do for the greeting you have given me. This university cannot boast of great antiquity, but as Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge are the oldest in Europe, and Harvard is the oldest in America, so is McGill the oldest in Canada. Of the great men who were trained in the European schools, it is unnecessary for me to speak, as it would be impossible for me to say anything you do not already know regarding them; but you must premise as the outcome of Harvard's teaching the standard of intellect and education [1] which is impressed on the people of Boston and New England generally. Is it not also the case with ourselves? Is not the desire for elegance and good taste observable in our surroundings in the city owing to the great intelligence which has resulted from the larger facilities offered in late years for higher education;

[1] He was once asked what in his opinion was the finest product of modern civilization. His reply was "a well-educated American."

and that especially by McGill? Regarding those who have filled the chair before me, — humbly following their example, — I will endeavour to act to the best of my ability, whilst it may be permitted me to fill this honourable position.

We must not only continue the prosperity of the university, but raise it to a higher and yet higher position among schools of learning. We must still progress. We have many tangible proofs of the interest taken in the prosperity of the university. The liberality of the friends of the institution, as we all know, has been very great, and the issue has been in every way satisfactory in the large number of educated men and women sent forth from the university. But to enable it to continue and render more efficient the means for this great work, the Governors are now desirous of further endowments. Let us all do our best to provide for, if possible, making the college more efficient than in the past. It has much to contend with at the present moment. We know that we are a comparatively small minority of English-speaking people in this Province, and we know that whilst McGill and its faculty of law had up to quite recently the field for itself entirely, things are now altogether different. Now there is another faculty of law in another university. We wish them God-speed; but at the same time we do not wish that McGill in this respect should take other than a foremost place. We desire that it should in no sense be second to any other law school or faculty in the Dominion. The Civil Code of Quebec is entirely different to that of the other Provinces of the Dominion. There is not that inducement to those outside of Montreal or this Province to come here to be instructed by the faculty of law; so that it is most essential, indeed, that

the citizens should give that support to the school without which it cannot possibly have that vitality which it should have to be in every way efficient. Of this the members of the Board are so fully convinced that they are endeavouring to provide an endowment for the faculty of at least one chair to begin with, and they hope to have one or two additional chairs. There is also the faculty of medicine, which holds its head high among the schools, not only of this continent but of Europe, and in view of the great advances made in science, medicine, and surgery within the last quarter of a century, I am sure you wish that McGill should hold its own; but this will be impossible without the liberal aid of those of the community.

We do not mean that all is to be done to-day or to-morrow, but it is well we should keep them in view and that a helping hand should be given us as soon as possible. There is also required, as soon as it can be had, an addition to the general funds of the university applicable to all professorship endowments and for college purposes. Something is also required to be done for the department[1] for women. Some of us had hoped that by this time there would have been such a college in existence, but from certain causes it has not been brought about. However, I think, we may feel assured that before the lady undergraduates who join this year are ready to leave the college they will have a habitat of their own. The progress which has been made in education, in the arts and sciences, and in the other professions throughout the world, is so very great that to keep pace with it we must bestir ourselves in every possible way.

[1] This had already been christened the "Donalda Department" in his honour. Mme. Donalda, the cantatrice, was one of the graduates.

We see how another university here, that of Laval, is strengthening itself in every way. We find no fault with that. There is a union of certain schools here, and union we know is strength, and it is well that in a good cause there should be union and that there should be strength. But whilst we desire that they should go on and prosper, we must not forget that it is our first duty to look to ourselves, and it is to be hoped that each of us will do his part to the best of his ability to see and secure that McGill shall hold its place among the schools not only of this Province, but of the Dominion as one which will be able to send forth men and women who will be a credit to their *Alma Mater* and will take their part efficiently to advance the best interests of the whole community.

On the 6th June, 1891, Sir John Macdonald passed away.

To the Marquess of Lorne

June 9th, 1891.

The death of Sir John Macdonald not only removes the greatest man in Canada but for whom the confederation of these Provinces might never have been achieved, but it takes away the source of patriotic inspiration of our best men. I was late in entering political life, but I at once, as if I had been a much younger man, enrolled myself under his banner and regret nothing so much as the temporary estrangement which circumstances unhappily brought about. Notwithstanding this, I never once ceased to hold him in regard and was truly rejoiced when it became possible for me to return openly to my allegiance.

A Ministerial Crisis

As Governor-General Lord Stanley of Preston (afterwards Earl of Derby) was succeeded by the Earl of Aberdeen.

To Sir William Butler

As to Lord Aberdeen's appointment we can only hope for the best. We have so far been especially favoured by Providence in the matter of Governors-General. In this case the fact of Lord Aberdeen's being a great favourite with Mr. Gladstone will not predispose many in his favour; but I believe he is earnest and industrious and a Scotsman of rank and lineage, which in itself signifies a great deal. Then, as I need hardly remind you, there is her ladyship!

In the Canadian political world affairs were growing troublous. Sir John Thompson's death at the close of 1894 had greatly shaken the Conservatives. Both the party and the country were restive under the Premiership of Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and in January, 1896, an embarrassing upheaval came.

Seven Ministers handed in their resignations to Sir Mackenzie Bowell. The truth is, the Prime Minister was hardly able to cope with the situation, and there was a general demand that Sir Charles Tupper, who then filled the position of High Commissioner in London, be summoned back to lead the party. Parliament met on the 7th of the month when the Honourable George E. Foster explained the reasons which had induced him and his colleagues to resign. It was "from no feeling of personal dis-

like or personal ambition, but has been solely dictated by our wish to sink all minor consideration and conserve the party and the country."

In other words, the wholesale resignations were to pave the way for the prorogation of a Government whose Premier could not command the confidence of all his colleagues.

Under the circumstances and there being in truth no Government, none were surprised to learn of Sir Mackenzie Bowell's decision to resign. It was then that a new difficulty appeared — Lord Aberdeen, the Governor-General, refused to accept the Premier's resignation. No consideration had been given to the Speech from the Throne, and affairs of administration were generally in such a state as to demand a further effort to reconstruct the Ministry. The effort was made, and on Sir Charles Tupper consenting to enter the Cabinet as President of the Privy Council the recalcitrant Ministers returned.

Thus ended a nine days' wonder. Its chief interest for us now is in the narrowness by which Sir Donald Smith escaped being drawn into the arena. An influential section of the party desired that he assume the leadership of the party.

"There is one man, and one man alone," said a member,[1] "who can save the Liberal-Conservative Party from falling to pieces, and also who can command the respect and confidence of the whole country, and that is Sir Donald A. Smith."

The member for Montreal West was sounded. He shrank from the proposal. "I have no claim,"

[1] Colonel Hughes, M.P.

he wrote, "while such a statesman as Sir Charles Tupper is alive and active, and prepared to assume the burden should the latter prove too great for Sir Mackenzie Bowell."

No sooner was the internal division healed than an affair of magnitude came to put the statesmanship of the Government to a severe test. The seemingly eternal question of race and religion had reached an acute stage in Manitoba. In an empire such as ours it is always present; it is the problem of good citizenship to see that it never engenders bitterness and animosity dangerous to the State.[1]

The French Roman Catholic population of Manitoba demanded separate schools where their children should be taught their own language and religion. The Manitoba Legislature opposed this demand and passed an act abolishing denominational schools.

In May, 1894, the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops of the Roman Catholic Church petitioned the Governor-General in Council to disallow the Manitoba School Act of 1894. By Order in Council of 26th July, 1894, the Privy Council recommended that the petition should be transmitted to the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and expressed

[1] Sir Donald once said to Mr. Wilson-Smith, K.C.; "My own view is that the less said about race and religion in Canada the better. In Montreal public opinion is always in a highly combustible state and any chance firebrand may set us all in a blaze. The French-Canadians are very sensitive and if we cannot praise them, we at least must be blind to their occasional shortcomings. It is all very artificial, but it is only by means of such a *modus vivendi* that harmony can be secured at all."

the hope that the Legislature of that Province should take steps to remove the grievances complained of in the petition.

Again, by Order in Council of July 27, 1895, the Dominion Government invited the Manitoba Government to enter into friendly negotiations in order to ascertain how far the latter were prepared to go in meeting the wishes of the minority, so that the Dominion might, if possible, be relieved from the duty of intervening. The Provincial authorities paid no attention to the invitation, and it was publicly and triumphantly declared that they had no intention of helping the Federal Government out of a difficulty.

Instantly, the Provincial authorities, led by the Honourable Thomas Greenway, the Premier, were up in arms and flouted the Order in Council. The Remedial Bill was introduced soon after Parliament met. It sought to restore to the Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba the rights and privileges in regard to the education of their children, of which they were deprived by the Provincial legislation of 1890, and which the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Imperial Privy Council declared Parliament had the power to restore. It professed, also, to interfere as little as possible with the functions of the Legislature and Government of Manitoba. The nature of the measure was such, however, that almost every clause of it dealt with acts that the constitutional law meant to be performed under authority of Provincial legislation, that are, therefore, best so performed, and that

would continue to be performed in Manitoba if the religious majority in that Province had held the spirit of the Constitution in the same respect as it had been held by the religious majorities of Quebec and Ontario. The task of the Government was additionally unpleasant, in that the bill, if passed into an Act of Parliament, would probably fail to effect its purpose. It had to count on the good-will of the people and Legislature of Manitoba for so much, that, if the good-will were withheld, the Roman Catholic minority would not enjoy the full benefits of the provision Parliament, when it established the Province, destined them to enjoy. The financial side bristled with difficulties. The bill provided that the municipal authorities should collect and pay to the trustees of the separate schools, to be established, all local school taxes levied upon consenting Roman Catholic ratepayers. In 1894 the total of such taxes in Manitoba amounted to $354,963. They were supplemented by grants by the Legislature of the Province to the extent of $101,013. Nearly a third of the school revenue from taxation, therefore, came out of the Provincial Treasury.

A Remedial Bill, following the lines of the Imperial Privy Council decision, declared that the religious minority should have a right to share in this; but it was clearly impossible for Parliament to dictate to the Legislature of a Province how or to whom it shall distribute its revenue. If the Legislature of Manitoba declined to pay any heed to the provisions of the Remedial Bill in this

particular, the Roman Catholics would have to depend on the local assessments alone for means to keep their schools in operation. In poor localities, and sparsely settled localities where the Roman Catholics were a small element in the general population, this virtually meant that there would be no separate schools. In other words, that would happen in Manitoba which has since happened in the Province of Quebec with regard to Protestant schools. The religious majority would inevitably crush the minority out of existence. Both sides assumed an uncompromising attitude. Naturally the clergy and clerical party of Quebec flew to the succour of their co-religious in Manitoba. The Orangemen of Ontario responded by snatching up the cudgels against Rome and Papal machinations. The air rang with vituperation, and for several weeks it wanted but little to precipitate a dangerous conflict.

Meanwhile, the citizens at large and a Government by no means agreed amongst themselves, seeing no satisfactory solution of the difficulty, prayed for the advent of a pacificator. And again a pacificator appeared. Many considerations tended to make Sir Donald Smith's assumption of the rôle the most appropriate that could be found — his patriarchal age, his freedom from the bonds of party, his well-known benevolence, but chiefly the remembrance of his famous mission of conciliation to the North-West a quarter of a century before. Albeit, in this instance, he was his own monitor.

This time circumstances seemed to make it highly

imprudent for the Government to despatch him on a mission of conciliation. He would go in a private capacity: what he would lose in official status, he would make up for by his character and reputation.

There was a question, indeed, whether what he proposed was politically desirable. It would not do to compromise the Ministry, or to excite either the alarm or the enmity of the Opposition. He resolved to consult the Governor-General, Lord Aberdeen, not as a politician or a member of Parliament, but as a private citizen, anxious to perform a signal and special act of good citizenship. Advantage was taken of an invitation to luncheon at Rideau Hall, at which both Lord Aberdeen and his indefatigable consort listened to Sir Donald's plan of mediation. Both were enthusiastic in their approval.

He explained afterwards: —

I wish to say very distinctly that I did not go at the instance of the Government. It is true that I had the privilege of communicating with His Excellency the Governor-General, not so much as Her Majesty's representative here, but as one, who, as we all know, has taken a very warm and deep interest in everything that is for the benefit of Canada. Having incidentally had an opportunity of speaking of this very important matter of the Manitoba School Question, His Excellency was good enough to express to me his very great desire that it should be satisfactorily settled in one way or the other, so as to be agreeable, not only to the people of that Province, but also to the people of the Dominion as a whole, desiring it should be disposed of outside altogether of party politics, for we know that

the Governor-General never allows himself to become a partisan, and that he is here as the representative of Her Majesty, to look equally at all sides, and to discriminate against none. I myself was greatly impressed with the view, that were it possible to dispose of this matter outside of Parliament, it would be for the general good; and I consequently determined to go to Manitoba with the view of seeing Mr. Greenway and some of his colleagues, and of endeavouring to ascertain if there could not be found a satisfactory way out of the difficulty. I may mention that had it not been for the fact that, owing to serious illness, I was unable to leave my house for three or four months, I certainly would have visited Manitoba some time before; but it is never too late to attempt to do what ought to be done. [1]

He was at that time far from well. The weather was bitterly cold and tempestuous and his physician, Dr. Roddick, had ordered him to repair at once to the milder climate of Florida. On the 15th of February his servant packed his luggage, he bade his wife farewell, and not until the following day did she or any of his friends learn that instead of the sub-tropics he had departed for the sub-arctic. He arrived in Winnipeg on the 18th, and although he was careful to disclose nothing to the newspaper representatives concerning his mission, it was immediately telegraphed all over the Dominion that he was in Winnipeg for a definite political purpose.

Commenting on this the *Montreal Gazette* observed: —

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, March, 1896.

The statement has been repeated so frequently, and no denial given, that there can really be no doubt of its accuracy. And besides, Sir Donald, beyond receiving his scores of old personal and political friends, and attending to the little social amenities consequent upon a visit to his former home, is said to have done little else but interview the men who have it in their power to make any settlement of the case. He is known to have spent hours with Premier Greenway and His Grace the Archbishop of St. Boniface,[1] but whether there will be any practical result therefrom, time must be left to develop. That Sir Donald is acting sincerely and is really desirous of performing a service to the State by snatching from the arena of public discussion a brand which, if left where it is, may result in disaster to Confederation, can be pretty generally taken for granted by all who know him and understand his character and motives.

It went on to say: —

That he would like, incidentally, to assist his party, may perhaps be true, but it is better to credit him with the higher motive. However much all Canadians would like to see the question settled, it is difficult to see how Mr. Greenway can make any concessions that would satisfy the Ministry. With a fresh mandate from the people to stand by the National School System, no one would surely be bold enough to expect that he would commit political suicide by sacrificing the schools. The Government has all along professed to be most anxious to administer the School Act in the most liberal manner, so as to meet the wishes of the minority as far as possible, providing no great princi-

[1] The late Mgr. Langevin.

ples were sacrificed, but further than that it is difficult to see how they can go.

This was perfectly true; it was, as Mr. Greenway told his distinguished visitor, difficult to see how they could go further. Yet it was not enough to restore peace or to carry out the pledge tacitly made in 1870. Sir Donald told the House of Commons on his return a few weeks later: —

The great difficulty in which Canada is at this time, and England as well, should be another inducement for us to do justice to the minority in Manitoba. There has been a promise made, made, it is true, to a few thousands of people, who have been spoken of here as poor half-breeds, but who, on the whole, I can assure you, are very intelligent men.

He pointed out that in 1870 the schools were voluntary, the Roman Catholics had their own and the Protestants had theirs, and there were certain grants of money given to each.

The Hudson's Bay Company, then the governing body, made a grant to the Roman Catholic Bishop, the late lamented and reverend Archbishop Taché. There was a grant given to the one and to the other — a money grant as well as a grant of land — for school purposes. It is true that not much was said about schools at that time, but it was distinctly understood by the people there, and the promise was made to those people, that they would have every privilege, on joining Canada, which they possessed at that time. And such promise I gave as a special commissioner from the Dominion of Canada. That was supplemented by Canada.

French-Canadian Simplicity

If the Convention did not enter minutely and particularly into the description of the separate schools, it was because they thought it altogether unnecessary. Any convention about separate schools was never dreamt of by them. They were a "simple-minded people." To show that they were really so, and that they went very much on good faith, I may mention how properties were conveyed from one to another. There were no long or written contracts; all that was necessary was that the parties interested should go to the official of the Hudson's Bay Company, who kept the land register, and mention verbally to him that it was desired to make over such and such property to a particular person and the transaction was concluded. That showed, I think, that they were "simple-minded," and that they had an idea, a belief, that when their word was pledged, it was as good as all the deeds that could be written. So it was with regard to the promises that were made to them at that time. They knew that they had their schools, and they believed that the promises would be well and faithfully kept, and they did not deem it necessary to have anything of a more binding character with regard to them.[1]

This is apparent, I think, from what took place in the Legislature of Manitoba in 1871, when the School Law was passed. It may not be known to a great many of the members here that many of those who composed the Legislature of that time were members of this very Convention, and in deciding that there should be separate schools, they were looking to what had passed in this Convention; they had it fresh in their minds. Therefore, I certainly think that the people of Red River, then the majority, now the minority, are

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, House of Commons, March, 1896.

entitled to all the privileges that are given to the majority at the present day. I think that in one way or another we should insist that they have full justice, and that whether in the form of separate schools, or in some other way, still, that justice shall be done, and that faith shall be kept with those people.

Sir Donald returned to Ottawa during the last days of February. He was by this time so hardened to the amenities of political life — to having base motives imputed to his most straightforward actions — that he was hardly surprised when one or two journals hinted that in his self-appointed mission to Manitoba, he had not been altogether disinterested.

It has been insinuated that, if I did go to Manitoba, ostensibly for the purpose of aiding in settling this vexed question, it was no philanthropic idea I had in my head, but that it was for the advantage of a certain corporation with which I happened to be connected, namely, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. It was said that there was a question coming up of a demand on the Government, a request to the Government, concerning the sale of a certain portion of the company's lands. I believe it is said that the sum was twenty or twenty-four millions — it really does not signify for a few millions nowadays — a few millions, a dozen millions, more or less, does not matter. So it was said that the Canadian Pacific Railway had approached the Government with a view of selling to them their lands. The Canadian Pacific Railway company have not approached and have no thought of approaching the Government with any idea of selling any of their lands, and the rumour is entirely without

foundation in truth. But that consideration will perhaps influence the conduct of those who circulate such aspersions.

A few days after he had left Winnipeg one result of his mission was announced. Mr. Clifford Sifton, the Attorney-General, moved in the Provincial Legislature, on February 25 —

that a committee of the whole House should consider a resolution protesting against Federal interference, inviting an enquiry and protesting that coercive legislation would not accomplish the relief of the minority, but would prove disappointing, and should be resisted. The motion proceeded as follows: In amending the School Law from time to time, and in administering the school system, it has been our earnest desire to remedy any well-founded grievance, and remove any appearance of inequality or injustice brought to our notice, and to consider any complaint in a spirit of fairness and conciliation.

Sir Donald consulted with the Prime Minister and Sir Charles Tupper as to the conduct of the Remedial Bill. It was agreed that the Government was in an awkward predicament. Having established personal relations with Mr. Greenway and his colleagues, could not Sir Donald induce them to come to Ottawa? No time was to be lost, and the member for Montreal West prepared a lengthy telegram, in which he appealed to the Liberal leaders in Manitoba to cast politics to the winds and come to Ottawa in the character of patriots.

To this appeal a brief reply was forthcoming: —

To Sir D. A. Smith

WINNIPEG, 2d March, 1896.

Your telegram has received the most careful consideration of myself and colleagues. While fully appreciating all you say, it is quite clear to us that we can only proceed to Ottawa for the purpose of holding a conference upon the official invitation of the Dominion Government. I fully appreciate your kind offices in this matter.

GREENWAY.

But the Bowell Ministry were not inclined to commit themselves. The Opposition, led by Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, were pressing them hard and the sentiment of the country was showing plainly against them.

The debate began and was continued with much heat for many days. On the 19th of March, Sir Donald arose to speak.

A journalist at the time wrote: —

The feature of the afternoon's debates was the speech of Sir Donald Smith. The House, jaded after its long vigil, was wearily waiting for six o'clock in the hope of a short adjournment. It appeared that nothing could animate it except dinner. Who might or might not speak next had ceased to be a matter of interest. Even the eloquence of a Laurier or a Foster could scarcely have filled the vacant seats and thrilled the tired members.

But as Disraeli says: "The unexpected always happens." When the gallant Comptroller of Inland Revenue resumed his seat, an unanticipated form rose in its place to address the House. It was the venerable

figure of the member for Montreal West, that, from the front row of the Conservative benches, apologized to Mr. Speaker for claiming the attention of the Chamber.

It had been a subject of much speculation whether Sir Donald would take part in the debate. His intimate association with the events which led up to the admission of Manitoba in the Canadian Confederacy, his recent visit to Winnipeg, again to negotiate with the people of Red River as a pacificator, were guarantees that no man more than he could enlighten Parliament on the vexed subject under discussion.

No sooner had the news spread to the lobbies, that Sir Donald Smith had the floor, than the members began to pour into the almost deserted Chamber. Scarcely could the ringing of the division bell have quicker filled the vacant benches, and as the voice of the patriarchal member gained in power with the warming of the speaker to the subject of his speech, so did the attention of the House become enchained in rapt interest.

The incident was felt to be historical. Sir Donald rarely addressed the House. On this occasion he spoke as a voice from the past as he detailed in simple, eloquent language the events of 1870, in which he had been so prominent an actor; the House felt that history had become incarnate, and was relating itself in living tongue. And when, coming to contemporary times, the pacificator of Red River in the past told of his recent negotiations to secure the elimination of Manitoba's schools question as a disturbing force in the politics of the present, and appealed to all parties of the country to pay homage to the Golden Rule, and to insure the consummation of his efforts, the House was visibly affected.

From every quarter of the Chamber came long applause, as the white-haired bearer of the olive branch resumed his seat, an appropriate conclusion to a unique and long-to-be-remembered Parliamentary episode.[1]

It is impossible to do more here than to indicate the outlines of a lengthy speech, several extracts from which have already been given. Referring to his visit to Winnipeg he said: —

I was met by Mr. Greenway and his colleagues in a manner that led me to believe that they had an honest desire to do what was right in the matter. It is only justice to those gentlemen to say that they to me appeared to be most anxious to have the matter settled so as to do substantial justice to the minority, as well as to the majority. I was permitted confidentially to represent this to the Government here, and I feel sure that it is their earnest desire to exhaust all means within their power to have justice done in the way in which I believe it can best be done, and that is through the local Government. True, it is within the power of this Parliament to pass a Remedial Bill, and if there is no other way of attaining the end which we are all of opinion ought to be accomplished, that of having equal justice done to the minority and to the majority, if after every means of obtaining that, from what I may be permitted to call the legitimate source, is exhausted, and it is found impossible to get justice for the minority, then I consider that the responsibility rests with this Parliament, and that this Parliament ought to apply a remedy. I trust, I have every confidence, honourable gentlemen opposite will all feel that it is

[1] *Manitoba Free Press*, March 20, 1896.

their duty, as well as the duty of those on this side of the House, to assist in every possible way to bring about a settlement. I cannot see myself that there is any necessity for a commission to enquire into well-known facts and circumstances, but I do trust and desire that there may be, at any rate, a personal *rapprochement* of the two Governments, that there shall be a conference. I am afraid, while I am sure many efforts in the right direction have been made by the Ministry to effect what they believe would be a satisfactory solution of this matter, they have not personally come together in such a way as to be able to exchange one another's views, wishes, and ideas, and so have an opportunity of deciding in that way what can best be done under the circumstances. I will say to the leader of the Opposition, and to honourable gentlemen on both sides of this House, that I trust they will join heartily and cordially together, and that each will, if possible, endeavour to outdo the other in his desire and in his determination to do justice to all classes in Manitoba, and to do it in the best way. This question must be taken out altogether from the arena of party politics. Let us all look only to the best interests of the country. If in the end it is found that justice — a proper measure of justice — cannot be obtained from the Province of Manitoba, it will then be the right and ought to be the duty of this House to intervene.

I heard a much-respected prelate of the Episcopal Church, one of the highest authorities in that Church, say, that, while his own people were, perhaps, in favour of separate schools, still, he did not desire to see these schools administered by a dual government, and he would desire and wish, above all things, that such arrangements were made that the schools of the Catholics

and of the Protestants should be under the jurisdiction of the local Government. It is my earnest wish and solicitude that there shall be no religious feuds in this country, that neighbours shall be neighbours, indeed, and that they will do to others that which they desire should be done to themselves. That is the Golden Rule.

He closed his speech by urging the House to pass the Government's Remedial Bill: —

Once more I would express the earnest hope that this school question may be settled, and settled to the satisfaction, not only of this House, but of the whole country. I should like, sir, to see this Remedial Bill pass to its second reading by acclamation. But by voting for the second reading of the Bill gentlemen are not necessarily committed to vote for the third reading of the Bill. If there should be a conference in the mean time — and I trust that there may be one — I am so hopeful of the result of that conference that I do trust that there will be no Remedial Bill required from this House.

It was, of course, not to be expected that the disclosure of a preliminary interview with the Governor-General would be overlooked by members of the Opposition. Accordingly the member for North Simcoe (Mr. McCarthy) asked the Government the question: —

Was Sir Donald Smith authorized on behalf of the Government to negotiate with the Premier or Administration of the Province of Manitoba in reference to or on the subject of the School law of that Province?

To which Sir Charles Tupper replied instantly in the negative.

On receiving this answer, Mr. Joseph Martin, whose subsequent political career was so chequered, leapt to his feet.

Why [he exclaimed] was it necessary for His Excellency the Governor-General to call in another adviser? We have got seventeen or eighteen Ministers of the Crown, and none of them appeared to have taken this matter in hand, and they advised His Excellency to apply to the honourable member for Montreal West, who was credited with possessing diplomatic qualities, and a talent for negotiation, and who had contributed very largely to settle a previous trouble in Manitoba, many years ago. So the Government applied in this emergency for the help of the honourable member for Montreal West. He went to Winnipeg. More than that, it was announced in all the newspapers that the honourable gentleman had gone there for the purpose of holding a conference with the Manitoban Government.

Surely [continued this speaker] it was most unfortunate that any public act of the Government should be communicated to this House, not by His Excellency's advisers who are responsible to this House for the public acts of the Government, but by a private member of the House. Surely that shows what little appreciation the Government has had of their responsibility in this connection, that they should allow a public act of Government, for which now they assume, after being practically forced to assume after the discussion in this House, full responsibility, to be so brought forward.[1]

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, March 21, 1896.

But the future British Columbian Premier and British member of Parliament and his friends got scant sympathy from either the House or the country. The press generally was agreed that Sir Donald had performed a highly patriotic action. In the House of Commons one member said: [1] —

We all appreciate the motive which induced him to assist the Government in this very difficult question; we all appreciate the care with which he has conducted a series of very delicate negotiations.

Another (Mr. Weldon) stated: —

I thank the member for Montreal West for his action. He has acted the part of a patriot.

Concerning the action of Lord Aberdeen, there was much approval of the opinion expressed by Mr. Nicholas Flood Davin, M.P., who said: —

Sir, I do not take the view of the position in our constitution of Her Majesty the Queen or her representative in Canada, the Governor-General, taken by some honourable members in this House. If such view were correct the Governor-General would be reduced to a position of almost an automaton, even in his private life. Sir, there is nothing to prohibit a Governor-General, who takes a deep interest in Canadian affairs, from conversing with any member of this House. I remember that Lord Dufferin was accustomed to meet in his office members of both parties and discuss political questions with them. How would it be possible for a man in his august position fully to discharge his duties unless, by conversation with eminent men, he made himself familiar with the events of the day? And what

[1] Mr. Flint.

would be the object of such communications unless he were free, not to suggest policies or advise schemes of political action, but to express his opinion on the events of the day, and on great questions such as this? Why, sir, you limit greatly the usefulness of those eminent men who, from time to time, come here as Governors-General if you take any such miserable view of their position as has been taken by some honourable gentlemen of this House.

In a few days the Cabinet met and resolved that if the mountain Manitoba would not come to Mahomet, then Mahomet should travel to Manitoba. Sir Donald's suggestion of a private conference was adopted and a commission was issued to the Honourable Mr. Dickey, Minister of Justice, Senator Desjardins, Minister of Militia, and Sir Donald Smith, to proceed to Winnipeg to negotiate with the Manitoba Government with a view to a compromise. In the interval Parliament continued the consideration of the Bill restoring denominational schools to the Catholics of Manitoba.

The political situation derived an additional piquancy from the fact that the Canadian Liberal Opposition was already inclined to support the action of the Liberal Government of Manitoba. The leader of the Canadian Opposition was a French-Canadian, the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier. Apart from its religious tendencies, one of the cardinal principles of Liberalism, as of Democracy in America, is the sacredness of Provincial rights — of local autonomy. Here French-Canadian Liberals ran counter to the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

In vain the Church thundered its anathemas from a thousand puplits — in vain Mr. Laurier was warned that he would alienate the majority in Quebec from his party. He was unmoved by either threats or predictions of political disaster. It was alleged that his own personal lukewarmness in the matter of religion assisted to render him complacent, while "thousands of his race and speech were slowly being morally strangled in Manitoba."

An old friend of Sir Donald Smith's in the North-West, the aged Father Lacombe, wrote to him: —

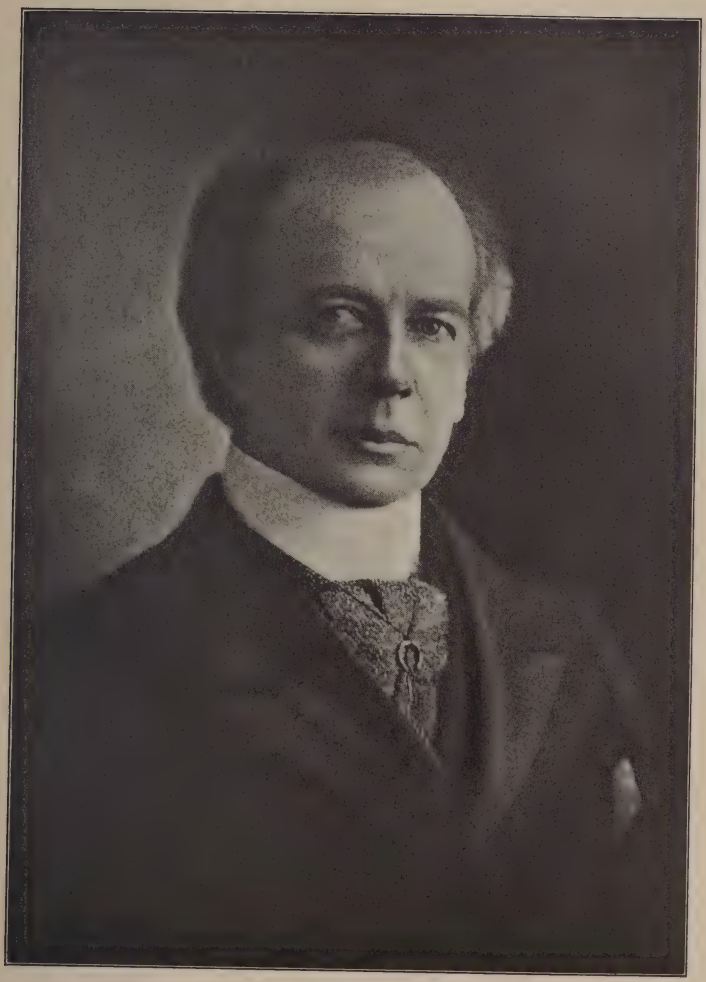
I and all of us await the result of your patriotic efforts with anxiety. I have resolved to address a letter to Mr. Laurier. I enclose a copy of it. Please look it over, both the French and the translation, and let me know if in your opinion any expression might be altered for the better.[1]

[1] The letter of this celebrated priest-missionary was as follows: —

My dear Sir: —

In this critical time for the question of the Manitoba Schools, permit an aged missionary, to-day representing the bishops of our country in this cause, which concerns us all, permit me to say, an appeal to your spirit of justice, to entreat you to accede to our request. It is in the name of our bishops, of the hierarchy and of Canadian Catholics, that we ask your party, of which you are the so-worthy chief, to assist us in settling this famous question, and to do so by voting with the Government on the Remedial Bill. We do not ask you to vote for the Government, but for the Bill, which will render us our rights; which Bill will be presented to the House in a few days.

I consider, or rather we all consider, that such an act of courage, good-will, and sincerity on your part, and from those who follow your policy, will be greatly in the interests of your party, especially in the general elections. I must tell you that we cannot accept your



SIR WILFRID LAURIER, G.C.M.G.

Suggestions for Settlement

It may be asked: What proposal had Sir Donald Smith, now arrived in Winnipeg with his fellow-commissioners, to make to Mr. Greenway and his colleagues?

Drafted in Sir Donald's hand, the "Suggestions for Settlement of Manitoba Schools Question" run mainly thus: —

Legislation shall be passed at the present session of the Manitoba Legislature to provide that in towns and villages where there are resident, say twenty-five Roman Catholic children of school age, and in cities where there are, say fifty of such children, the board of trustees shall arrange that such children shall have a school-house or room for their own use; where they may be taught by a Roman Catholic teacher, and Roman Catholic parents or guardians, say ten in number, may appeal to the Department of Education from any decision or neglect of the board in respect of its duties under this clause, and the board shall observe

commission of enquiry for any reason and we will do the best to fight it.

If, which may God not grant, you do not believe it to be your duty to accede to our just demands, and that the Government, which is anxious to give us the promised law, be beaten and overthrown, while keeping firm to the end of the struggle, I inform you with regret that the episcopacy like one man, united to the clergy, will rise to support those who may have fallen to defend us.

Please pardon my frankness which leads me to speak thus. Though I am not your intimate friend, still I may say that we have been on good terms. Always I deem you a gentleman, a respectable citizen, and a man well able to be at the head of a political party. May Divine Providence keep up your courage and your energy for the good of our common country.

I remain sincerely and respectfully, honourable sir, your most humble and devoted servant,

A. LACOMBE.

and carry out all decisions and directions of the Department on any such appeal.

Provision shall be made by this legislation that schools wherein the majority of children are Catholics should be exempt from the requirements of the regulations as to religious exercises.

That textbooks be permitted in Catholic schools such as will not offend the religious views of the minority, and which, from an educational standpoint, shall be satisfactory to the advisory board.

Catholics to have representation on the advisory board; Catholics to have representation on the board of examiners appointed to examine teachers for certificates.

It is also claimed that Catholics should have assistance in the maintenance of a normal school for the education of their teachers.

The existing system of permits to non-qualified teachers in Catholic schools to be continued for, say, two years, to enable them to qualify, and then to be entirely discontinued.

In all other respects the schools at which Catholics attend to be public schools and subject to every provision of the Education Acts for the time being in force in Manitoba.

A written agreement having been arrived at, and the necessary legislation passed, the Remedial Bill now before Parliament is to be withdrawn, and any rights and privileges which might be claimed by the minority, in view of the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, shall, during the due observance of such agreement, remain in abeyance, and be not further insisted upon.

March 28th, 1896.

In a subsequent communication in reply to one from the Manitoba Government, the Commissioners observed: —

We must further draw your attention to the flagrant injustice of the present system, which compels Roman Catholics to contribute to schools to which they cannot conscientiously send their children, and we beg to submit that this fact deserves due weight and consideration. It is to be further noted that the Roman Catholics earnestly desire a complete system of separate schools, on which only their own money would be expended, a state of matters which would meet the observation under consideration, but which you decline to grant. Our suggestion was to relieve you from the necessity of going as far as this. It is, perhaps, impossible to devise a system that would be entirely unobjectionable theoretically and in the abstract. We had great hope that what we suggested would commend itself to your judgment as a practical scheme doing reasonably substantial justice to all classes, and securing that harmony and tranquillity which are, perhaps more than anything else, to be desired in a young and growing community, such as is now engaged in the task of developing the resources of Manitoba.

The Remedial Bill as a practical measure was doomed. It was impossible for the existing Federal régime to settle the question. Only the advent of Mr. Laurier to power paved the way for a settlement in the following year.

The arrangement then made was carried in the teeth of the Roman Catholic hierarchy who fulminated bitterly against Mr. Laurier and threatened to invoke the interference of the Pope.

Nine months later, when he had become High Commissioner, Sir Donald met the Canadian Solicitor-General, himself a Roman Catholic, in London and undertook to assist the further negotiations.

To the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier

LONDON, 6th January, 1897.

Mr. Fitzpatrick explained to me his mission in respect of the Manitoba School Question, and I at once communicated with Mr. Chamberlain regarding an interview on the subject, after explaining to him very fully the position of the case and its gravity as regards the well-being and best interests of Canada, and assuring him that the settlement come to was the best that under the circumstances could be arrived at, meeting the approval of the great body of the English-speaking people both Catholic and Protestant, and the greater part of those of French origin.

I asked Mr. Chamberlain if he would be good enough to extend to Mr. Fitzpatrick official recognition on the part of the British Government at the Vatican. Mr. Chamberlain regretted his inability to do so, as the English Government has no direct relations with the Papal Government, but expressed entire sympathy with the object in view, and said he would gladly give the Solicitor-General a letter of introduction to the Duke of Norfolk, who is understood to be the one British subject having great influence with the Pope. He at the same time suggested securing the active aid of Cardinal Vaughan.

On the same evening of the same day, I introduced Mr. Fitzpatrick to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Mr. Fitzpatrick presented his case with

clearness and much ability, Mr. Chamberlain handing him an introduction to His Grace of Norfolk and repeating the assurance he had given me that he would gladly aid in the matter as far as he could.

Later in the evening, Mr. Fitzpatrick and I dined with the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Russell of Killowen), an old friend of mine, meeting at this table Judge Matthews and other Catholic gentlemen eminent in legal circles, as well as Mr. Edward Blake, M.P., who were unanimous in opinion that every proper effort should be made to insure that the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy of Quebec accept the settlement come to by your Government on the School Question.

I shall only add that if in any way I can aid toward a satisfactory solution of this vexed question, you may count on my best efforts.

And again (February 20) he wrote: —

I trust the result of Mr. Fitzpatrick's efforts both here and in Rome may be all that could be wished for in solving the awkward Manitoba question. Any assistance from me in his mission was most willingly given. It cannot be but that Archbishop Langevin will soon come to recognize that his present course of action is a most unwise one, disapproved of as it is by all men of moderate views.

CHAPTER XX

GOVERNOR OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

1889–1914

We will now resume the thread of Sir Donald's connection with the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company. Although, as the largest individual shareholder, he had been elected Governor in 1889, he soon came to realize his powerlessness to stay the rapacity of the shareholders in the mass. Their relations with the wintering partners threatened the very life of the fur-trade.

Chief Factor W. J. Christie to a fellow-officer

Brockville, Ont., 15th April, 1892.

The end of the Hudson's Bay Company cannot be far off. Sir Donald Smith told Chief Factor Camsell that two years more and the Hudson's Bay Company would be a thing of the past. I am sorry for the officers who gave a life service to the Hudson's Bay Company and have not been able to save enough for their old age.

The *personnel* of the service had lamentably deteriorated.

From Factor D. C. Mactavish

Chapleau, 13th August, 1890.

The trouble is, we can't get good men who understand our business, and take an interest in it. A young man has no inducement to remain in the service,

and a valuable man is paid no better than a sleepy, slow fellow. I have seen new blood sent out from England, and get higher wages than I the first year, and three of them could not do my work.

I have done all that I can to protect the Bay trade, but if I get abused for my trouble I shall not assist others who are not competent to manage the charge they have. Four Moose Indians came up this summer along with the opposition. I got them away from the opposition and sent them back to Moose. They were all down on ——— who never could manage Indians.

From Factor Ferdinand Mackenzie

STUART'S LAKE, February 18th, 1893.

Some of the gentlemen in this district will very likely be leaving shortly owing to the scanty allowance given them to live upon. Mr. ——— intends leaving next summer and there is some talk of a brother of Mr. ——— coming to take charge of Fort George.

Another repeats the same complaint: —

From Factor W. H. Adams

There is no inducement to young men to remain with the Company when they can see their way to better futures elsewhere. There are now so many opportunities for men of ability to obtain remuneration such as the Company will never pay. During the whole of my service I could not fail to observe that the suggestions of their experienced officers were systematically ignored by the Governor and Committee, and I know that their action in this connection, in many instances, conduced to a petty rather than

an increased energy in the interests of the Company's affairs, resulting, in my opinion, most detrimentally to the latter.

Old officers who had served the Company for several years were allowed to die unprovided for.

Factor J. H. Lawson to a fellow-officer

WINNIPEG, January 23d, 1891.

. . . Poor Chief Factor Cotter's family are left in very poor circumstances, and without deriving any benefit from the Pension Fund. I do not quite understand the working of that fund, but we will no doubt receive light on the subject later on, but if Cotter's family are penniless I do not see why they should not get something from the Reserve Fund.

You will have heard of the coming change in the Commissionership. We are all wondering who will be the next to fill the position. It will not be easy, and for the good of all concerned I sincerely hope a good and competent man will get the appointment.

Mr. Wrigley has certainly worked hard and done his best to carry out the views of the Board, and it is to be regretted that his reign has not resulted in improved dividends, either to the commissioned officers or shareholders. We will see in time if a change will be to our benefit.

From Chief Factor Roderick McKenzie

MELBOURNE, QUE., 6th April, 1891.

Emoluments are dwindling down to a pretty low figure. Of course the expense in purchasing and se-

curing the furs are more than in former years. The grasping London stockholders saw that and secured to themselves the millions of money paid by Government on one or two occasions as well as one-twentieth part of the lands on the fertile belt of the Hudson's Bay Territories.

Mr. Eden Colville promised the late William Mactavish, or his brother, that the interests of the fur-trade partners would be protected in the contemplated change, but the seniors of 1869–70 overlooked their own interests.

In 1891, the need of larger dividends on an enormously swollen capital had suggested a further pressure of the screw upon the unfortunate wintering partners. The fund set aside for their benefit was now in danger. As one wrote: —

For Outfit 1889, there is a dividend of only 6/6 per share from all sources (land included), and even this makes it necessary to encroach on the undivided profits of previous years. It must have been a disagreeable ordeal for Sir Donald to meet the shareholders with such a report.

From Chief Factor W——— C———

29th May, 1891.

We all think this new Commissioner business is a most foolish action of the Board. It is an insult to us all, and I don't wonder that many are very angry about it. But as for myself I shall do nothing at present. It would never do for me to stir up strife before the new man comes. I promised I would try

to conduct the business until Mr. ———'s successor arrived and I intend to keep my promise faithfully.

Of course, land and not fur was the Company's objective. The officials sent out by the London Board knew nothing of the fur-trade, which after all was according to the traditional policy of the Board. Nor were they of the calibre of Sir George Simpson. We read: —

The Montreal Department showed a loss of thirty-one thousand dollars, and of this actually sixteen thousand dollars fell to Sir Donald's old post of Bersimis. Poor J——— M——— was hustled off to Oxford House and C——— S——— installed in his place. Truly the Commissioner makes some curious moves! C——— goes to Bersimis with eight or nine helpless children and a Swampy woman as nurse. A few more nicely balanced "experts" to be saddled on to that broken-down section!

Even the Labrador traffic in salmon, so valuable in Sir Donald's day, could not yield a profit.

From Chief Factor P. W. Bell

RIGOLET, June 28th, 1891.

You have heard, of course, of the outcome of our salmon sales in London. The whole fine and unusual collection of salmon was fairly sacrificed — no market at all. They realized 53 per cent less than the previous year. You can fancy the outcome, when the 95 tierce only shipped the Outfit previous realized within a fraction almost as much as the 361 tierces I shipped from this place alone. I am sick at heart and entirely

disgusted with the entire business, and thank goodness a few more months will see the end of my reign in this country.

For the past few years, the cry from the Secretary has been, "Salmon, salmon." For the first time the *Erik* has a full load, so much so that the people at home did not know what to do with it. I can meet them all with a fearless face, without cavil or cringing, as I have faithfully done my duty since 1852.

We have again passed a miserable, disastrous winter. These two past winters are certainly something to be remembered by all residents. Gales and snowstorms, month after month, week after week, and day after day; hunting and trapping was out of the question. The poor Husky suffered most of all, as he could not prosecute his favourite seal-hunting. We could not possibly carry on the necessary outdoor work this spring, as there was no abatement of the cold, frosty nights until a week ago.

We have, in spite of fate and weather, secured a fair share of foxes. They have done well in that line north of this, and I only hope they will realize something when they reach the market.

From Chief Factor J. Ogden Grahame

Revelstoke, B.C., May 21st, 1891.

I have waited so long for promotion, and have worked so hard to make and keep affairs prosperous, that I have lost heart and do not care what is done. I will, until I can see something better to do, endeavour to do my best for the concern and still do my utmost for that end.

As regards the officers, what can we do? If kicking

is the order of the day, we shall simply receive a year's notice, be suspended, and probably lose the six years' half-pay which, after all, is only at the pleasure of the Board.

The Deed Poll says we are to have a Council yearly. This is not done; it also states that officers shall be judged by officers; neither S——— nor C——— were. I am afraid that nothing can be done that any good would be derived from.

Of one of Sir Donald's successors we are told that "he acted a mean, selfish part; was looked down upon by the fur-traders and did his best to please only the Board. He had to leave; and Sir Donald would hardly speak to him. The Council was a farce; he could not do or say anything; he should have remained at home. Our refusing to dine with him last year was partly what killed him, although we did not mean it that way at the time. No dinners this year; not even at Sir Donald's. He had just returned from England and was bothered about elections all the time."

Roderick Ross to a brother-factor

VANCOUVER, B.C., 20th December, 1891.

There is no mistake about it, the *fiat* has gone forth and Attila is to ravage and destroy the handiwork of the "Company of Adventurers," that ancient guild that has reigned in the land for two long centuries and more. The Philistines, or rather the Jews, are now at last upon us in reality, and there must be a dividend if the heavens should fall.

———'s mission is to wind up the old concern, to

cremate the old government on which the new patch of 1872 was tacked only to make the rent worse as time has proved. Many of us foresaw this, and some of us fought against it to the death, but the inevitable has come to pass so that the cry of "*Sauve qui peut!*" is heard as the signal of total rout. "Exit Hudson's Bay Company"; enter Hudson's Bay Lands and Colonization Company, Limited. Do you think that all this talk at late Hudson's Bay annual meetings and the shortcomings of sale in this country really mean the beginning of the end of the fur-trade? If so, I will make only one other remark on this subject, and that is that this is a very favourable moment in which to consider the possibility of the Hudson's Bay officers stepping forward in their own interests to grasp a business, even yet of great promise for them for many years to come. Would the Company oppose such a movement now? I think not, and it might be to their advantage to manage it. You can see all this better than *I* can, and perhaps you have still enough "go" in you to set the ball rolling. I sounded ——— the other day, on this subject, but he harped on the old slur of the impossibility of united action on our part.

I have enrolled as a pensioner, getting £200 per annum, which I am politely requested to enjoy for six years on condition that I do not engage in the fur-trade, or directly or indirectly go into any commercial business of any kind in which the Company is concerned! ! So there is a fine predicament to be in at my time of life. Is our whole life, and everything we hold most dear to us, to be really sacrificed to the Company, when once we doff their uniform? What do I know about anything except the business the Company is engaged in?

I saw Sir Donald Smith over here in September. He was as kind and considerate as ever, but I asked him for no favours. The gloom and despair of a prematurely dying man has now succeeded the hopeful confidence of the bread-winner who has a sacred duty to perform for those dependent on him. We are all well, and although unavoidably scattered apart by mountains, plains, and forests, my hope being that if God spares my life this state of things will soon be remedied.

From Sir Donald A. Smith

1 Lime Street, London,
8th January, 1892.

I have for some ten days been laid up from the effects of a severe cold, and it is only quite recently that I am able to give attention to correspondence again. I cannot think how my letters to Mr. Abbott, covering yours to me of the 11th November, failed to reach him. It was certainly posted from my office, copies of both being kept there, and having the following day met Mr. Abbott at dinner in Montreal I told him it had been sent to his address at Ottawa. I am very glad with him for the letters of December, copies of which you have been good enough to send me. It is not easy to move the Dominion Government to dispense money for the relief of Indians, so long as they think there is any possibility of fathering the expense on the Hudson's Bay Company, but Mr. Abbott led me to infer that they would be disposed to authorize the Hudson's Bay Company to make advances at their own discretion for which they would reimburse the Company. On my return to Canada I shall urge that the Government pay the outlay already incurred in

this way, and make a further appropriation for the same purpose.

Political influence always avails more or less, and doubtless other claimants without a tittle of right will endeavour to procure for themselves a part of what ought to go to you, but I trust this may be prevented, and I shall do anything I can in that direction.

I am glad you, Mr. Mackenzie, and Mr. and Mrs. Parson had an enjoyable evening at the St. Andrew's Ball, and that it proved to be a success. Business has brought me to England so much in the autumn for a long time that I have not been able to be at the Montreal St. Andrew's Ball for quite a number of years. My wife appears to have had a somewhat severe attack of influenza which confined her to the house for upwards of three weeks, but I am glad to find she has quite recovered from it. We have been anxious for three or four days back about old Mrs. Stephen,[1] of Montreal, who has been dangerously ill with the same disease, with pneumonia superadded, but notwithstanding her great age, eighty-six or eighty-seven, I earnestly trust she may get well over it.

Again very many thanks for all you so kindly say and for your kind interest so thoughtfully shown in my welfare. I assure you I greatly appreciate all you say and feel in this, and you do me only justice in believing that the best interests of my old colleagues in the Hudson's Bay Company are very close to my heart, and I would gladly advance them as far as I possibly can.

[1] His first cousin, mother of Lord Mount Stephen.

Lord Strathcona

From Chief Factor S. K. Parsons

London, 19th April, 1892.

I had a most unsatisfactory interview with the Board and found the Deputy Governor, Lord Lichfield, most overbearing; in fact, he would listen to nothing except his own views. After stating what he thought of the affairs in the South, he said that they intended that I should go down and put things straight.

I replied that when I consented to go for one year I assumed that my right to retire, upon giving twelve months' notice according to the Deed Poll, would be respected. I pointed out that out of thirty-one years in the service, I had passed nineteen in Hudson's Bay, and that as an old officer, I considered I had not been treated with the consideration I thought myself entitled to expect. He sneered at this, and suggested that I should consider my resignation as having been given in on 1st June, 1891, which suggestion I promptly acceded to, and the affair is so settled. I assume that I shall get Outfit 1892, being one of the men who received no compensation under the old Deed Poll. Every one (Armit included) considers that I have done right. The whole business has been bungled, or else it is a deliberate conspiracy to drive me from the service. *The Board do not know the first thing about our business: we need none of us expect the smallest consideration* from the Board. I am a free man now.

I must say that I am sorry at leaving the service after so long being in it, and however bitter I may feel against the Company, I hope to retain my old brother officers among my warmest friends.

An Old Officer resigns

From Chief Factor Horace Belanger

Norway House, 2d May, 1892.

In compliance with the conditions of the Deed Poll, I beg to inform you that it is my intention to retire from the service on 1st June, 1893, on which date I shall have been connected with the Hudson's Bay Company for a period of forty years. During that time I have served in the following grades: —

19 years as Clerk;
1 year as Chief Trader;
12 years as Factor; and
8 years as Chief Factor;

and in whatever capacity I was employed it has always been my earnest endeavour to do my duty to the best of my ability and to promote the interest of the Company in every way in my power. I sincerely trust that the Board as well as yourself will regard my claims on their consideration favourably, and see fit to concede me the full retiring shares.

My reason for leaving is entirely of a private nature, viz., the welfare of my family, from whom I am at present obliged to be separated. At my time of life it is my duty to make a home, however humble, for my children and myself, and it is with this object in view that I have brought myself, with much regretful feeling, to sever my active connection with the Company in whose service I spent so many happy, though sometimes hard, years, and in whose prosperity I shall ever continue to take a deep interest.

"God knows," writes Belanger in a letter to a brother factor, "I will have soon enough to paddle

my own canoe. Next first of June, I will have served the Hudson's Bay Company forty years."[1]

Poor Belanger, he did not survive many weeks. He was accidentally drowned in a river, his death being regretted by all who knew his staunch and cheery character.

The growing resentment of the fur-traders is thus illustrated: —

Chief Factor A. B. to Factor M. F.

2d November, 1892.

I have just seen a letter from Tupper's ex-secretary, who has been pitchforked into the position of Chief Commissioner (ye gods!) of the fur-trade. In it he says: "I was present at the distribution of prizes at St. John's College last night. A. M———'s boy carried off the Governor-General's prize and the medal presented by the Bishop of Rupert's Land. *Hurrah for the Hudson's Bay Company!*"

Can you conceive of such cool effrontery! Daring to claim this fine young scion of old A——— M——— for those cold-hearted Lime Street scoundrels!

We are told that "New blood — new blood!" was the cry at meetings of the London Board.

[1] The Factor at Oxford House wrote (November 5th, 1892): "My neighbour of Norway House, Mr. Belanger, severs his connection with us next first of June, after forty years of business. We may all well exclaim with Shakespeare, 'We ne'er shall look upon his like again.'"

Board's New Policy

From Factor W. K. Broughton

Moose Factory, 11th February, 1893.

I submit that the pension should have been made a vested interest, payable to one's representatives in the event of death occurring before the expiration of the six years. No matter what Sir Donald attempts to do for us, past experience has, I think, plainly shown us that the Board always take their own course in spite of him. It was so at the time of the "Round Robin." You will remember we held out for a minimum guarantee of £200 and the Board offered £150, and carried their point, too. True, we got the £200 afterwards, but they established their point in the first instance. But to resume: I cannot say that I am not glad of the six years' pension even under existing circumstances, and I feel sure that it will enable many to make homes for themselves (at any rate, in this country) and sever their connection with the Company much sooner than they could otherwise have done, and this, I think, is what is desired by the Directorate.

"New blood — new blood!" is the cry, and I would take a pretty heavy bet with any one that no new commissions will ever again be given; those holding commissions at present will be promoted from time to time if it is thought advisable to retain their services, but after this I fancy the places of those commissioned officers retiring will be taken by clerks who will be salaried according to capacity, or I should rather say, "ability," and the amount of responsibility they assume.

. . . Surely they will do something for poor old P———. It will be simply disgraceful if they don't give him a pension; he has been told they have nothing

for him to do, and I fancy the fact of B——— not having yet been appointed to any charge points in the same direction.

Slowly, Sir Donald's contemporaries disappeared, one by one, from the scene.

From Chief Factor Alexander Munro

VICTORIA, B.C., 8th June, 1893.

. . . Naturally you refer to the many changes by death and otherwise that have taken place in the service since 1887, that memorable year. The number of them in so short a time is remarkable as well as most affecting. I often think of those few days and nights of our meeting in Winnipeg and of those of our number since departed. Poor Belanger's fate was indeed very sad. It is remarkable, too, that so many of his family should have perished by drowning.

You may well exclaim that the old days and prospects of the officer are gone forever. I am greatly pleased, however, to learn that you think the pension scheme is likely to be bettered for them by a definite arrangement this summer, and sincerely hope for all your sakes that it may be so. The Winnipeg Council of '87 adjourned for five years, did n't it? The time has expired. Will there ever be such another gathering!

From Chief Factor Bell to R. MacFarlane

KINGSTON, June 10th, 1893.

Matters in regard to myself and appointment are in abeyance at present. My furlough expired on the 15th ultimo. The climax is to be adjudicated at the meeting

in London. What is up now, and what in Heaven's name have the Board and Committee to do with the appointment of officers in the country? The Commissioner is surely empowered to do that, especially when he has such a backer as Sir Donald. This is an extract from Sir Donald's letter to me on the 1st inst.: "I shall be crossing the Atlantic soon myself, and matters in connection with your own position in the Company's service will be taken up and disposed of at an early date." There the matter rests.

25th December, 1893.

The present idea of the new Chief Commissioner is to manage the concern as cheaply as possible. The Board are doubtless backing him with the cry of retrenchment: reduce all and every expense consistent with carrying on the trade. If they can get their first and second clerks to do the work of their commissioned officers, they are going to make use of them so as to get rid of their old officers by degrees. What about the clerks and commissions? Will they choose to remain clerks all their life?

Deeply grieved was Sir Donald when he heard the serious news from his old district of Ungava and took immediate steps to improve matters there.

From Chief Factor Bell

Christmas Day, 1893.

The news from Ungava is distressing in the extreme: no less than two hundred souls of the Inland Indians perished from starvation during the winter and spring and some twenty-five Esquimaux. All this is to be attributed to the want of deer. The horde of these

migratory animals seem to have taken another course for their usual old haunts. No trace of their route could be found, consequently this sad loss of life.

I never heard of such calamity in my life, no such wholesale slaughtering having transpired since the advent of the old tried North-West Company.

It appears that only ten families reached the post, where they had to be fed all winter. What think you would have been the consequence if fifty or sixty families could have dragged themselves out? They simply would have eaten Matheson out of house and home; provisions were at a very low ebb and assuredly the whole post would simply have starved to death. May the kind fates never bring them to such a brink again.

Mr. Matheson writes that it only leaves about a hundred all told of the Inland Indians. The residue of the hunters are all trash. I cannot see what under the circumstances, will keep Ungava up. The salmon and oil will never do, as the prices are so fluctuating and altogether unreliable. The district losing the fur-trade loses the last chance of remuneration. Say whatever you like, the pickled salmon has seen its best days and will soon be a thing of the past.

From Chief Factor A— B—

KINGSTON, September 8th, 1893.

I have no idea what they purpose doing, but this I know, that my patience is all but at an end. I cannot endure this forced idleness, and what is more to the point, I cannot afford it. I will have to wait now until Sir Donald comes out. It must be finally settled then, am I to remain in the service or not? There must be no more dilly-dallying in the matter. Ever since my

arrival last autumn, no one could have received more kindness and consideration than I have from Sir Donald. What is the use of all this, if you are to be *kicked* in the end by the Board?

If Mr. C——— was as anxious as he professes to be, he would doubtless have found a suitable place for me. Sir Donald will soon be out now.

In an address in April, 1897, Lord Strathcona thus referred to the life of the lonely fur-traders: —

Thousands of miles separated the more distant posts from those which may be termed the shipping ports. The life of many of the officers of the Company can readily be imagined. They saw few people of their own kith and kin, or of their own race, except at long intervals. There were occasional councils and gatherings at central places, but their visits to civilization were few and far between. In fact, they were more or less out of the world. Letters only reached them in many places once a year. Newspapers and magazines were many months old when received, and the most important events happened without their knowing anything of them for long afterwards. They lived well, and had plenty of time for reading and meditation; but the life must have had its attractions, for the officers were devoted to their posts and to their work. The great event of the year was the arrival of the stores and the mails. The canoes or dog trains which took in the supplies carried away the proceeds of the year's trading. Most of the Company's exports to Europe were then carried in their own vessels by way of Hudson's Bay.[1]

[1] In February, 1897, Sir Wilfrid Laurier wrote Lord Strathcona that Mr. (now Senator) L. O. David was desirous of undertaking the history of the fur-trade. To this Lord Strathcona replied: "I quite agree with you in the opinion that it is most desirable we should have

At the Company's annual meeting in July, 1904, Lord Strathcona noted that more than 130,000 immigrants had gone into Manitoba and the North-West Territories the previous year, of whom at least one third were from neighbouring districts of the United States.

"Inasmuch as the Hudson's Bay Company owns one twentieth of the prairie acreage and is most intimately concerned with the retail business of the country, it is obvious that this immigration must bring much benefit to it." Indeed, in the year 1903–04 the Company realized £1 5*s*. 3*d*. per acre for land sold as against £1 3*s*. 3*d*. in the previous year.

In October, 1904, owing to the vast profits which the Hudson's Bay Company were making out of the sale of lands, Lord Strathcona induced the Board to grant a more liberal pension scheme for the men who had grown old in their service. But this scheme did not comprehend those officers who had retired prior to that year, the true heirs and successors of the Rupert's Land pioneers.

Chief Factor MacFarlane to a Director

7th October, 1907.

I have before stated that these "old officers" had given due thanks for the yearly grant of two fifths of

a good history of the fur-trade in North America, and in so far as I can help Mr. L. O. David with material for it, or in any other way, I shall most gladly do so. This can be arranged personally when we meet." Mr. David having relinquished his plan, the task, at Sir Wilfrid's instance, fell to my pen. The Company's archives were generously placed at my disposal and the Governor supplied the introduction to the work, which was published in 1900.

the amount of pension guaranteed to many of their service contemporaries, while they, no doubt, would have felt more grateful had their own equally long and faithful connection with the Company received similar recognition. Had your fellow-director taken the trouble of carefully considering the subject of the complained-of letters and papers which he says Lord Strathcona had, from time to time, reported the purport of to the Board, I believe he would have better understood their import, and would at least have refrained from taxing the officers with ingratitude.

Should all of the referred-to documents be still in existence, and you desire to peruse and ponder over them at your leisure, they would certainly enlighten you on many points regarding the history and former status of the wintering partners of the Company since the coalition with the North-West Traders of Montreal in 1821. You would also, I opine, more readily than any of your colleagues (the Governor always excepted), comprehend the *raison d'être* of my long friendly and truly loyal contention with them in favour of "better terms" for men who have given by far the best of their years and lives to, and in zealously and faithfully maintaining, the rights and interests of the Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay.

The Board of Directors evidently believe that they have treated the old officers very liberally. I have, however, shown that this is not the case, and we therefore sincerely hope that the youngest and oldest members of the Executive will unite in disabusing the others of this erroneous idea, which seems to savour too much of the ancient Medo-Persian policy. May I not further appeal to you as an English gentleman, — a lover of justice and fair play, in all matters, — to do

your utmost in removing the complained-of grievance.

For obvious reasons, apart from those herein stated, it is to be earnestly hoped that the Governor and Committee will now reconsider the case of the "old officers," and at once find that they really merit the granting to them as from 1st June, 1904, the whole amount of their respective rank "time limited" pensions, and thus place them on a basis more nearly approaching that of their later brethren. This generous and retroactive course would be not only warmly welcomed, but also come as a perfect "Godsend" to Mrs. Lillie, Mrs. Camsell (Chief Factor Camsell died in January, 1907), as well as to nearly all of those who would benefit thereunder, and its adoption would undoubtedly elicit their profound gratitude.

In the mean time, the Governor will be able to explain to you all about the fur-trade partnership, and the surrender in 1893 of certain Deed Poll rights, which have since wholly provided the Servants' Pension Fund of £50,000 sterling. The shareholders have practically contributed nothing thereto.

There was really no just or valid reason for the very unfair *discrimination* exercised by the Board in dealing with their "old officers" who retired from the service prior to 1st June, 1904. The surrender of the Deed Poll fur-trade rights in 1893, without any compensation whatever, adversely affected the old officers, while, on the other hand, this valuable acquisition has not only given the Board the means of repaying to the shareholders every penny advanced by them in the way of making up former guarantees, but furnished them

with the whole amount of the Company's actual Pension Fund of £50,000.

The shareholders of the Hudson's Bay Company had at length acquired, without any actual outlay, the entire two fifth *rights and interests* of their former *fur-trade partners*. This fact was scarcely appreciated by the majority within the service, while outside citizens of the great Dominion of Canada are still in utter ignorance of it.

The Board of Directors maintained then and still maintain that their fur-trade partners have, on the whole, been fairly treated; also that the past is a closed book. "No question," vainly protested one trader, "is ever settled until it is rightly settled."

I would once more ask you [wrote Chief Factor MacFarlane again in 1908] to do your utmost to aid in doing the right thing by those in whose behalf I have taken much trouble for many years past, men, nearly all of whom, as the Governor well knows from his own personal experience in the service, have suffered many hardships, and endured many privations in the performance of their onerous duties in the interior.

In reply one of the Directors wrote: —

It is really quite useless to reopen a case long since settled or to trouble the Board further with papers and correspondence relating to a period with which the existing Hudson's Bay Company have only an historical concern.

This "historical concern" was the possession of millions of acres of lands which the wintering

partners had discovered, explored, and held for the Empire, and which the London shareholders were now disposing of at a rate which was making wealthy men out of many who had formerly been as poor as the Rupert's Land pioneers.

From R. Pauling

HULL, January 7th, 1907.

I don't hear of anything being done to settle the claims of old Hudson's Bay servants for the land they are legally entitled to.

Factor W. H. Adams to a fellow-officer

13th June, 1907.

The announcement of a dividend of £4 5*s.* 0*d.* per share on the Hudson's Bay stock was followed by a decline of some points in the market quotation, attributed, according to the *Daily Telegraph*, to disappointment in the amount of the dividend declared. The grounds for this I fail to see, for 40½ per cent on par value should be sufficiently satisfying. But some people are never satisfied, and in spite of the malcontents, if they exist, I expect to see an advance in the price of stock at no very distant date.

Yet even these dividends did not lead to any greater consideration for the men who had made their prosperity. In one instance, a capable officer died because the medical officer had been withdrawn from a district as part of the policy of "retrenchment."

Company's Swollen Dividends

From Factor W. H. Adams

15th May, 1908.

You will be grieved to hear of the death of my old brother officer, Tom Anderson, whom I had learned to like much. Had adequate advice been available he might have been spared to many more years of useful service with the Hudson's Bay Company. It always seemed to me that the Company, in default of the Government's employing efficient medical aid in the Northern latitudes, should have provided a medical officer both in Athabasca and Mackenzie River districts, if even they had withdrawn one from Winnipeg. The expense would not have made any appreciative difference in the dividends.

Many instances might be given of Lord Strathcona's tenderness for old officers of the service, who had erred or been overtaken by affliction. In one letter he wrote to the widow of a clerk who had been only five years with the Company: —

I have mentioned the matter to the Board; but I am afraid it is one which they do not feel inclined to deal with at present. In the mean time [how characteristic was the phrase — how careful of the reputation for generosity of the Board!] I beg to enclose my personal cheque for £100 which I trust may be of use to you.

On one occasion an old servant had been summarily dismissed for a fault. The Board washed its hands of the matter. A friend appealed to the Governor.

Factor D. H. MacDowall to a friend

PRINCE ALBERT, April 24th, 1891.

The day I left Ottawa, Sir Donald told me that D——— would be allowed his retiring interest, and that he would do what he could for him if there was any position to which he could recommend him.

Sir Donald Smith thought that a season on the Mackenzie might have recouped the Company and saved him, as D——— undoubtedly had usefulness when he had an interest to serve or a strong hand over him, without the extreme measure of throwing him on the world with an unfortunate reputation. . . . I only feel sorry for his wife and children.

Chief Factor P. W. Bell to a fellow-officer

RIGOLET, LABRADOR, July 12th, 1891.

I have written fully to Sir Donald explaining the whole matter, telling him that after forty years' hard, honourable, faithful service, I will be no man's tool. I simply made a just application for my well-deserved furlough and gave the Company a year to choose my successor.

They can and will, no doubt, make me give in my resignation. This I will do if required, sending the notice by mail and follow my letter by the next steamer.

The Governor to Chief Factor Bell

I should be very sorry if any such untoward events were to occasion the loss to the Company of one of their best officers. It shall not be if I can prevent it.

It only remains to add that this officer was granted a lengthy furlough and was subsequently given a post in the more salubrious climate of British Columbia.

To Chief Factor Peter Mackenzie

23 March, 1901.

You will already have heard of the sad downcome of prices obtained at the March sales this year, when compared with 1900, a fifty per cent decline in all the most important items. This is a sad disappointment, as we were rather led to expect that furs latterly had been looking up in the market. But perhaps — and let us hope it may be so — by the time next year's collections come in, there will be an improvement. The better salmon fishing at Ungava this last season will be a good help to the next year's outfit.

You certainly want all the good men you can have as managers and post-masters in the district lying near to civilization and I am sorry to find from you that we have not many such at present.

19th September, 1902.

What you have to say about Mr. (or, as it may be, Count) D'Aigneau's proceedings, gives cause for concern, and I hope that not only at Moose Factory, but at all the other posts we have, those in charge can meet the situation . . . in which case there need be less cause for apprehension as regards the trade.

6th March, 1903.

Thank you very much for the information you give about the Revillon Frères' operations in James's Bay,

and along the St. Lawrence River and Gulf. They may do some harm, but it is far from likely that it will be of any profit to themselves, as, no doubt, our people will be on the alert to make the best of the situation.

I am glad the pheasants reached you in good condition [he writes on another occasion to Mr. Mackenzie], and if you happen to be over here, which I hope may be the case some time soon, you must come to Knebworth and shoot some for yourself. The sport, they tell me, is good; although personally I do not care about it, as it is hardly equal to what we have been accustomed in the Canadian woods.

Later, in spite of much criticism, he insisted that this old officer, whose health had given way, should not be deposed, and his duties were performed for a long period by deputy, until his death.

Factor Adams to C. F. MacFarlane

15th May, 1908.

I hear that so long as Mr. Peter Mackenzie is alive, his successor in the Montreal Department is not likely to be appointed. Whilst sympathizing with Mr. Mackenzie, as all must do in his serious physical condition, it appears to me that his retirement would be not only just to himself, but also to the staff of the service, and I know of no precedent for the existing arrangement.

To the close of his life he kept in touch with the survivors amongst his old friends in the service, so few of whom, alas, now remain.

Correspondence with Factors

From Governor Sir Donald Smith

January 25th, 1891.

I was very sorry to hear of Mr. Clarke's death. It is very sad to see what blanks have of recent years been made in our service from deaths alone. Dear me, there are very few alive now of the officers of twenty years ago!

Years later he heard from his successor at Rigolet, in Esquimaux Bay.

July 1st, 1900.

The old Labrador is carried on in the same old ratio, fairly plenty — dire starvation the next. The trade in that great solitude is very unsatisfactory. I cannot for the life of me understand why the Company keep it up.

Ungava, depending more upon the migratory fox, has been going down hill for the past two outfits. The salmon and oil fisheries have proved all but a failure for the past two seasons. The unfortunate post has never been able to pull up from the *Slough of Despond*.

To Ex-Chief Factor Colin Rankin

Montreal, 22d October, 1900.

With one or two friends who dined with me yesterday I had an opportunity of testing the partridges you so kindly and thoughtfully sent me, and we all pronounced them to be delicious, and besides they remind me of old friends and old times. Please accept my sincere thanks.

Mr. Selous was fortunate in placing himself in your hands when he determined to go on a hunting expedition. He is known as a great Nimrod, and will return

to his friends in England with a goodly appreciation of the sport which is to be had in Canada. His success will, no doubt, induce others of our English friends to follow his example. Should he be in Montreal while I am still in Canada I shall be very glad to see him.

My wife was very anxious to take the trip with me, but although she is stronger and in better health than she has been for some time back, at the time I left she had a slight cold, and the doctors thought it safer that she should not undertake the journey at this season of the year. We hope, however, to be back in Canada soon, and for a longer stay, which will enable us, we trust, to see yourself and many of our old friends again as in the past.

22d February, 1902.

Mr. Donald McTavish, who has done so well at Rupert's House, will no doubt give a good account of his stewardship at Norway House as well, as he is both painstaking and energetic. It is to be regretted that Mr. James McDougall's health makes it necessary for him to retire from the service, as we all know what an efficient officer he has been for the Company.

11th June, 1902.

We shall also be happy to see our friends Mr. and Mrs. William Clark, who, I believe, are expected here about the 17th instant. He has been fortunate in many ways as an officer, and we all know how devoted he has been to his duties, and how well he has discharged them.

To Ex-Chief Factor MacFarlane

17th May, 1902.

I now have much pleasure in informing you that the Lords Commissioner of the Admiralty have, after care-

ful looking into the circumstances of the case, decided to award you the decoration in recognition of your valuable services, now a good many years ago. The medal is forwarded herewith, and I am informed that it is of the same pattern as those issued in 1859 to such of the crew of the *Fox* discovery ship who had not already received it. No other naval medal was awarded for Arctic service until 1876.

June 11th, 1902.

I have just heard that His Grace of Rupert's Land arrived in London yesterday, and I shall take great pleasure in going to see him, and of being of use to him in any way I can.

Thank you very much for sending me the number of the Manitoba Historical Society's *Transactions* containing an obituary notice by yourself of our friend, the late Peter Warren Bell. Poor Bell was a good and staunch friend, and no one deplored his sad death more than I.[1]

To Mr. Rankin, a survivor amongst his old associates, he wrote not long before his death: —

Grosvenor Square, London, 15th July, 1913.

Your name brings back many pleasant recollections of a long while ago, when we saw so much of each other, and it would be a great gratification to me that we should come together again and have a long chat about Hudson's Bay matters and other things in which we are mutually interested.

I hope you may be visiting England before long, and pray feel assured that you will have a cordial welcome from my wife, Mrs. Howard, and myself, and all the members of our family circle.

[1] He was drowned in British Columbia.

To sum up, as an entity possessing any real connection with the past, the old Company had been moribund for years, and its life flickered out altogether when Lord Strathcona died. For him the fiction was kept up: the old forms were maintained. But he knew it was all pretence. Behind the stately mask were the pert and simpering features of a Kensington draper. To show to what base uses the ancient coat of arms, the boast of many generations of proud and sturdy wilderness adventurers, could be put, the following advertisement, one amongst thousands, will suffice. I reproduce it literally on the page opposite.

This to-day is the Hudson's Bay Company — Mrs. B——— and Miss M———, with their "powers of design" and their "shirt-waists," and the London shareholders, with their two hundred per cent, from the land won by those stern and rugged God-fearing pioneers, who laboured and suffered and won this heritage, whose descendants are, many of them, to-day dwelling in privation and penury.[1]

> "A Timon *you!* Nay, nay, for shame!
> It looks too arrogant a jest —
> The fierce old man — to take his name,
> You bandbox. Off, and let him rest.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The old Timon, with his noble heart
> That strongly loathing, greatly broke."[2]

[1] In his will Lord Strathcona bequeathed fifty pounds a year as an addition to the pensions of certain of his old colleagues in the fur-trade.

[2] Tennyson.

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Incorporated 1670

ARMS OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.

A FEW WORDS ON MILLINERY

Mrs. B———, who has been with the Company for the past six years, still retains charge of the Department. The Company has secured the services of one of the best trimmers in the country, and a combination of Mrs. B———'s power of design, and Miss M———'s ability in carrying the same into effect, will enable them, as usual, to offer for inspection a selection of the latest up-to-date Millinery. The opening will take place on

TUESDAY, THE 24TH MARCH

and following days.

Small hats and Turbans, prettily trimmed with flowers, will have the lead for early spring wear.

As long as shirt-waists are worn, Sailor Hats will accompany them, and we have never before been able to offer the same variety in price and style.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XX

From the Coalition in 1821 to 1905, when the last fur-trade commission was issued, the number of commissions issued by the Hudson's Bay Company was: —

5 Inspecting Chief Factorships.
103 Chief Factorships.
38 Factors.
208 Chief Traders.
62 Junior Traders.

416 Total.

During this period 262 received (so far as can be ascertained) promotion in the service. A calculation of the "Imperial relationship" yields the following interesting result: —

55 of the wintering partners were of English birth or extraction.
16 " " " " " " Irish birth or extraction.
11 " " " " " " French-Canadian birth or extraction.
110 " " " " " " Highland and Canadian Scottish birth or extraction.
70 " " " " " " Orcadian and Lowland Scottish birth or extraction.

262 Total.

CHAPTER XXI

THE HIGH COMMISSIONERSHIP

1896–1897

WHATEVER the issue might be, Sir Donald Smith had vastly enhanced his already high position in the country. It has already been shown in a previous chapter that the Bowell Administration was in serious difficulties. Parliament would expire by effluxion of time in June and a great effort must be made by the Conservative Party in the ensuing elections. A call had therefore been issued to the veteran Sir Charles Tupper to come over to help them. He had responded with alacrity. Should he or should he not resign the High Commissionership was the question. A decision was soon taken. If his party won at the polls, Sir Charles would certainly enter office as Prime Minister, if he did not do so before; if his party lost, it was incredible that he would be continued in office as High Commissioner by the Liberals. Whom to appoint as his successor was a more difficult problem. Various names were canvassed: meanwhile, Sir Charles, before leaving England, had been informed that the member for Montreal West would accept the post.

"When I heard Sir Donald Smith's name mentioned for the High Commissionership," states

Sir Mackenzie Bowell, "I confess I was surprised. 'He won't take it,' I immediately said. However, I made the offer and it was accepted."

There were, indeed, some grounds for the then Prime Minister's surprise and incredulity. Sir Donald Smith was in his seventy-sixth year. He had led an unusually arduous life, frequently overtaxing his strength; he had acquired vast wealth, and was naturally credited with a desire for rest and ease in retirement. No man then living in Canada could look back on a more notable and successful career. Truly, the ways of destiny are inscrutable. For Donald Alexander Smith, at the age when decrepitude has overtaken the generality of mankind, a fresh and more splendid career was dawning. All that he had done hitherto would be eclipsed — all that he had been hitherto would be taken vaguely on trust. His world-wide fame and that great and prolonged service which was to make Canada his everlasting debtor, were both shrouded in the mists of futurity.

To him a close personal friend had written in April: —

It is rumoured that you have been offered the High Commissionership in London. I hope it is not true that you have accepted the post. It would, in my opinion, be a fatal mistake — fatal to your peace of mind, to your health, and also to your fame and happiness. Moreover, it will prove to be but an empty honour and your enforced retirement in a few months will surely follow. Mackenzie Bowell cannot possibly carry on and Laurier will come in. If you accept, you

are laying up a fresh sorrow for your old age. But, of course, you have thought of all that.

Sir Donald was sworn in as High Commissioner and a Privy Councillor on April 24, 1896.

The appointment drew forth the high commendation of both political parties. He was admittedly Canada's foremost citizen, and in his new sphere was expected to do much to assist in bringing the Colonies into closer touch with the Mother Country. His reputation and position in finance made him additionally *persona grata* in commercial circles. His acceptance of the High Commissionership would not, he found it necessary to announce, affect his position as President of the Bank of Montreal and Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Sir Donald Smith [commented the well-informed London *Chronicle*] will make an almost ideal Canadian High Commissioner. He is the most large-hearted of Canadians, and though a nominal supporter of the Government now in power at Ottawa, he cares very little for party distinctions, and has probably as many friends among the Liberals as among the Conservatives. He has abundant wealth, reaped in such enterprises as the railways which have opened up the Western States and the prairie regions of the Canadian North-West. Most tourists in Canada know with what a lavish hand he dispenses hospitality at his Montreal mansion in Dorchester Street and his once famous Winnipeg residence, "Silver Heights." Last year Sir Donald became a host in this country, for he is now the proud possessor of the historic pass of Glencoe.

Other newspapers spoke in the same strain when welcoming the new Canadian representative, and he received numerous letters exhibiting the esteem in which he was held by many English friends. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that to the masses in Britain Sir Donald Smith in 1896 was not even a name. Canada herself was on the threshold of that Imperial celebrity and material success which was soon to surround her.

"Who is this Sir David Smith who is to replace our friend Tupper?" wrote a usually well-informed ex-Cabinet Minister to the Honourable Edward Blake, who had now transferred himself to an Irish constituency.

To the varied illustrations of romance in the careers of notable men, this other might be suggested — to begin climbing the highest ladder of fame at the age of seventy-five.

What, it may be asked, was the precise nature of the office to which Sir Donald had just been appointed? Previous to 1880 Canada had been represented in the United Kingdom by a simple agent, Sir John Rose. Early in that year, Sir John Macdonald resolved to put the office of agent for Canada in London on a more satisfactory footing.

An act was, therefore, passed constituting the office of High Commissioner. In appointing Sir Alexander Galt to the post certain definite instructions were formulated and approved by the Governor-General. He was also appointed chief emigration agent for Canada, and he was informed that it was the Government's intention to transfer the

entire management of the public debt and correspondence relating to the finances of the Dominion in London to the High Commissioner.

After a brief tenure of office, Sir Alexander Galt was succeeded by Sir Charles Tupper in 1884. With all Sir Charles's qualities of manner and knowledge which made him so capital a representative of the country abroad, he was, it must be avowed, far too keen a politician and followed far too ardently his instincts of combat to be quite acceptable to both political parties in Canada. Moreover, he continued, while holding the High Commissionership, to be a member of the Conservative Ministry, and was therefore a fair target for the shafts of the Opposition. One instance of this criticism will suffice. There was a proposal in 1891 to raise the emolument of the High Commissioner to the modest figure of $10,000. "Why," asked one member, "should the High Commissioner, who lives in England, and who, however you may attempt to surround the fact with verbiage, holds a sinecure very largely, have a salary larger than that of the hard-worked head of the Department? What practical duties has the High Commissioner discharged during the last eight or ten years?"

Another member actually proposed abolition of the office; while yet another ironically declared:—

> The Minister of Finance has sought to justify the continuance of the office of High Commissioner on the ground that he has performed great service in respect to the egg and poultry trade. The honourable gentleman has, however, undertaken a larger contract than

even he is capable of performing, if he seeks to convince the House that the spasmodic efforts of the High Commissioner with respect to the egg and poultry trade of this Dominion would justify the payment of $18,000 [1] a year for the continuance of the office. The egg and poultry trade is a very important one, and its importance has always been recognized by the Opposition.

It is interesting to note the part Sir Donald Smith took in the debate. He said:—

The honourable gentleman has compared the emoluments of the High Commissioner with those of the Honourable First Minister and the other Ministers of the Crown. The honourable gentleman does not require to be informed that many representatives of European nations, those in Austria, in France, in Russia, in England, get much higher salaries than the Prime Minister in any of those countries; and that is undoubtedly consistent with their position, representing, as they do, their Sovereign, as the High Commissioner for Canada represents the Dominion.

While [he characteristically continued] I have a proper idea of economy, I think that instead of putting it at $10,000 or $12,000, $20,000 would be by no means too much to pay — I am not speaking of an individual, but for the position of the representative of Canada in London. There are many demands made on any gentleman in that position, that I think it would be only showing a proper regard to the dignity and the position of Canada to make a worthy allowance for the High Commissioner.

[1] Inclusive of the cost of an official residence in Cromwell Road. One of Sir Donald's first acts was to dispose of this house, which had meanwhile greatly deteriorated in value.

Opposed to Parsimony

I think that it would be really in our own interests that the position of High Commissioner of Canada (I say again, I am not speaking of the individual) should be made such as to enable him to entertain, to some extent, out of the proceeds of his salary, as is done by almost all other representatives.

At the very time he thus spoke there was a notice on the motion paper from him in respect to an increase in the salaries of Canada's judges.

I trust [he urged] this will be taken into consideration by the Government, because I think we owe it to ourselves that the salaries of our judges should be increased. While I hope I am actuated by a proper desire for economy as much as the honourable gentleman or any other member of this House, I should certainly not be opposed to seeing the emoluments of the Ministers of the Crown as well as the judges increased. At the same time, we ought to exercise every care in introducing into every portion of the Civil Service those only who are fit to do the work to be assigned to them. If such care be observed, we should be able to pay well all those who are capable of doing, and who do, good work for the Dominion.

The suggestion of $20,000 a year in addition to a residence rudely shocked the Opposition. As one member declared:—

Before the honourable gentleman startles us with such an extraordinary suggestion, he must be prepared to show that our condition in Canada is so essentially prosperous that we should be justified in moving in the direction of increasing the salaries of our hard-worked officials, before we increase those of persons holding sinecures.

Another member declared that he had examined the authorities to ascertain what the United States of America paid their Ambassadors and Ministers abroad. While Canada "virtually" paid the High Commissioner $18,000 a year, the amount of salaries paid to the Ambassadors of the United States to France, Great Britain, Germany, and Russia was only $17,500. America only paid $12,000 a year to her Ministers to Austria, Brazil, China, Italy, Japan, Spain; to Turkey, Chili, Argentine Republic, United States of Colombia, and Peru, $10,000; and to Persia, Portugal, and other smaller countries, $5000. "So," it was added triumphantly, "our High Commissioner receives a larger salary than any of the Ambassadors of the United States to foreign countries."

Events and changes were to move rapidly forward to the time, twelve brief years later, when one of these very important American Ambassadors — no less important than Mr. Whitelaw Reid — was to say publicly to an English audience: —

I sometimes think that my office is magnified by your kindness into a greater than it would be otherwise, and my duties, more numerous here from the same cause, would sometimes overwhelm me if my spirit of emulation were not aroused by the constant spectacle of a rival. He, too, is an Ambassador of an English-speaking Transatlantic country, in extent equalling my own and advancing by rapid strides to wealth and importance second only to ourselves in the whole Western world. Wherever I go there is he, and to a great many functions I do not go, he does. Yet, great as is the

country he represents, the Ambassador of the Dominion of Canada magnifies his office. Beside his indefatigable exertions, my own office is a sinecure.

It is only just to say that Canadian industrial and monetary conditions were at a comparatively low ebb in the early nineties, and were the representative ever so persuasive or diligent, the attractions then offered by his country were dubious and few. Some there were even amongst those in high places who despaired of the future. How different was the temper of Sir Donald Smith! One of his earliest utterances as High Commissioner was at a banquet in connection with a Pacific Cable Conference in London to which he was, with Sir Mackenzie Bowell, a delegate.

Responding to a toast of "Canada," he said:—

Sir Alexander Wilson has told you that it was a band of merchants who gave to England and the Empire the vast and good country of India. That was a band of merchant adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay. These men, two years after the East India Company was chartered, also obtained a charter. The whole of the eastern portion of Canada then belonged to the Crown of France. These merchant adventurers first entered Hudson's Bay. Then they spread themselves over the more northern portion of the continent. And what is the country now? It is a very important part of the Dominion of Canada, and in years to come will be of still greater consequence to the Dominion and to the Empire.

It is in that country within the last year that a small number of farmers have produced no less than thirty

million bushels of wheat, and when that country becomes what it will in a very few years become, with the assistance which we are sure to have from those whom we see here to-night and those who have come as delegates from all parts of Great Britain and the Empire, then that vast North-West of Canada will be settled by hundreds of thousands and even millions of British subjects.

Looking to the vast area of the wheat-fields in that great North-West, and considering what has already been done in the way of wheat growth, we may look forward with assurance, and that in a short time, to the day when it will produce and send to England all the grain she may require. There are in Canada those who have as loyal hearts to Great Britain and the Empire as we find here at home.

A reference to the Right Honourable Joseph Chamberlain was received with loud cheers:—

We in Canada have the greatest satisfaction in knowing that there is at the present moment at the head of the Colonial Department one who has given his heart thoroughly to the work of making a great Empire, and knitting together every part of the Empire so that "Imperialism" shall be not merely a "movement," — not simply a flash in the pan, — but that we shall continue steadily growing as an Empire of Englishmen with the aspirations and determination of all to do their part in keeping their heritage intact and perpetuating its glories for all time. I may say for Canada that its Government and people will be foremost to come to the right honourable gentleman and ask him to take steps that there may be a gathering of the different parts of the Empire in England to devise some means

of satisfying every portion of the Queen's dominions in respect of commerce and the intercourse between all parts of the Empire. We shall be only too glad to knit the bonds still closer with the great Empire of which we are proud.

People had asked him [he said] upon what he based his opinion of Canada's coming greatness. What is this Dominion? It is a country of three and a half million square miles—about half of North America. It is true that at the present moment we have not a very large population, for I think we are outnumbered by the population of London and its suburbs, but we have at least five millions of people, all of whom are as loyal to our Queen and to the Empire as any to be found in the heart of the Empire. Canada has at present a revenue of $334,000,000. It has railways extending over 16,000 miles. It has a shipping tonnage of 879,000, being in that respect fifth among the nations. Not only so, but it produces wheat in very large quantities and of the very best quality. In the North-West they last year produced no less than 33,000,000 bushels of wheat and upwards of 20,000,000 bushels of other grains. But this is not all. We have a country which in many of the eastern parts is rich in minerals, but when you cross the mountains, you find in British Columbia abundance of both gold and silver, as well as of the baser metals. We have in the prairies what is of the greatest use to the settler — coal in unlimited quantities. At one time it was supposed that there could be no large centres of population in the North-West because there was so little fuel — so little timber; but it has since been found that throughout the whole of that great district coal exists in the greatest abundance. Thus, having gold and silver, iron and copper, and the

greatest abundance of fuel, we can look forward to a great future for that country.

While [he said] Canada still looks to England for aid in her difficulties, we feel that we ought to have independence to help ourselves to the utmost, and that in helping ourselves we shall also be doing a great and good work for the Mother Country, and for the knitting together of all the Colonies and the Mother Land into one great Empire, and the creation of a power which will command, that England and the Empire shall be still more and more respected by all nations. In no part of the Empire is there more affection for the Old Country than in Canada, or a greater willingness to do our part in the work of consolidation. And I think I should add that this is the case, not only with the English-speaking people of Canada, but equally with our fellow-countrymen who speak French. As was said many years ago by a citizen of that country, a French-Canadian is an Englishman to the core, who speaks French. Another statesman declared that the last shot fired on the North American continent for the British Empire and for England would be fired by a French-Canadian. It will be, we hope and believe, years, generations, centuries, before there is any possibility of it being necessary to fire this last shot, for we believe that there is a feeling in Canada, and in the whole Empire, which will conserve that country to England as surely as the different parts of the United Kingdom are concerned.

But a more notable public appearance occurred in the early days of June at the Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire, to which he was a delegate. Here he sounded for the first time that

note of practical Imperialism which Joseph Chamberlain emitted with his latest breath. Sir Donald ardently hoped for preferential trade within the Empire, but political considerations soon made his championship of the proposal incompatible with his tenure of a non-political office.

The Toronto Board of Trade had offered a resolution, to which Sir Donald proposed the following amendment: —

Whereas, the stability and progress of the British Empire can be best assured by drawing continually closer the bonds that unite the Colonies with the Mother Country, and by the continuous growth of a practical sympathy and coöperation in all that pertains to the common welfare; and whereas, this coöperation and unity can in no way be more effectually promoted than by the cultivation and extension of the mutual and profitable interchange of their products; therefore, resolved, That this Congress records its belief in the advisability and practicability of a customs arrangement between Great Britain and her Colonies and India on the basis of preferential treatment, and recommends that steps should be taken by Her Majesty's Government to bring about an interchange of opinions on the subject between the Mother Country and the other Governments of the Empire.

In the course of his speech Sir Donald remarked that in moving his amendment he did so in no spirit of opposition to the previous proposal of the Toronto delegation.

I am, indeed, acting in unison with my friends from Toronto and other Canadian representatives. My

object is to place before this Congress a resolution which represents, I hope, the views of all the Canadian delegates and will receive their support, and thus render more or less unnecessary the discussion of the other resolutions of a similar nature which are on the paper. We hope also that the terms of the amendment are such as will commend themselves to our friends from Australasia, from South Africa, and the other Colonies, and we are not without hope that it may commend itself to the representatives of the commercial interests of the United Kingdom who are present to-day. What we are striving for here is not the discussion of the details of a commercial arrangement between the Mother Country and the other Colonies. That must be left to the Government of the different parts of the Empire to formulate and arrange. What we want to do is to secure the acceptance by this Congress of the principle that has been in one way and another so ably advocated. It has also been discussed by the Canadian Parliament, by Boards of Trade and Chambers of Commerce in Canada, in South Africa and Australasia, and also in other Colonies. But the third paragraph of the Amendment takes us a step further, and the principle being conceded, Her Majesty's Government are to be requested to approach the other Governments of the Empire with a view to the interchange of opinions on this important subject, which is very closely connected with the future development of the trade and commerce of this great Empire.

If Her Majesty's Government will grasp the matter boldly and invite an expression of opinion from the Governments of the Colonies, we are not without hope that it may lead to the calling together of another great Conference in London, where the details of a measure

satisfactory to the Colonies and the United Kingdom might be discussed and arranged.

Lord Salisbury had said that in the closer union between the Mother Country and the Colonies was involved nothing more or less than the future of the British Empire. Mr. Goschen had said that he thought it possible that the advantages of the commercial consolidation of the Empire might be so great that in certain circumstances no objection would be raised to it. Lord Rosebery, in one of his speeches declared: "It is, as I believe, impossible for you to maintain in the long run your present loose and imperfect relations to your Colonies." You know the extent and importance of the Colonial trade at present: and you must have an idea of the extent to which it is bound to develop in the future. We have immense British territories all over the world, and their progress is only just commencing. I think these facts are an argument in themselves for the formulation of closer and more intimate commercial arrangements between the different parts of the Empire than exist at present.

We all, here and overseas, have a common origin, a common history, a common language, a common literature, a common love of liberty and law, common principles to assert, and common interests to maintain. And, gentlemen, we have all a common love for and loyalty to the British Crown and the British connection. Why, therefore, cannot we have some arrangement of the nature sketched in outline in the amendment I am now proposing? Why should every part of the Empire in matters of commerce treat every other part of the Empire as they do foreign countries? Gentlemen, union is strength. We have competitors everywhere, and if we hope to compete with them not

only within but without the Empire, we must look after what we conceive to be our common interests.

I think it will be generally admitted that they look after theirs. I have already said that we do not want to enter into details. We do not wish to get into a discussion on abstract free trade or protection. We have other and higher objects to attain, — the closer commercial unity of this great Empire, — and those who run may read, not only the issues that are at stake at the present time, but the very much greater issues that must make themselves apparent in the near future. I do not think there is anything in a moderate scheme of preferential treatment which need shock any reasonable economic theories, neither is it likely to lead to retaliation. We have as much right to treat trade within the Empire on a preferential basis as the various foreign countries with colonies have to give to and receive from their colonies preferential treatment.

Germany cannot reasonably object to such a proposition; neither can the United States, because they have adopted it already themselves; and the same remark applies to Norway and Sweden. Therefore, gentlemen, I commend this amendment very heartily and cordially to your acceptance. I am sure its adoption would cause much gratification in the Colonies, and I believe among no inconsiderable part of the population of the United Kingdom. It would also encourage Her Majesty's Government to take steps to secure a modification of those unlucky treaties with Belgium and Germany which in their present form block the way to any inter-Imperial arrangement. After looking into the matter, I do not think there would be any great difficulty in bringing about the modification we

desire. I will only say, in conclusion, that the terms of the amendment are very elastic in their nature. What we are striving for is some plan which may the least upset the fiscal system in force in the United Kingdom and in the Colonies, and I believe that such a scheme could readily be arranged. It would certainly mean great things for the Empire — a closer sentimental and fiscal union than at present, and the retention of the Colonial markets for British goods for all time. It would stimulate the development of the Colonies, provide larger markets for British products, and insure larger supplies of food products from British territories. These are only a few of the consequences that would inevitably follow the closer union of the different parts of the Empire, and they are surely worthy of some sacrifices on both sides. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has said that there is on one side free trade, and protection on the other, but he has pointed out another way, and I think in that direction we may come together. To do so it is necessary that there should not only be discussion, but that either the Colonies should approach the Home Government or that the Mother Country should approach the Colonies, to ascertain how far each is willing and prepared to go in the way of a Zollverein, that there may be one feeling and one action throughout. While proud to be a native of the United Kingdom, I am still more proud to be a Canadian, and that is, I may say, the feeling of the vast majority of the Canadian people. There is every desire to bring us closer and closer to the Mother Land, and that we shall in the end — and we trust it may be in a very short time — feel that we are one people, Britons, throughout the British Empire.

This speech created an ineffaceable impression.[1] Mr. Chamberlain was amongst the first to congratulate the High Commissioner. They met frequently, both in public and privately, and a warm friendship sprang up between them.

Sir Donald went to Glasgow in the middle of June to take part in the celebration of his friend Lord Kelvin's jubilee. Canada had taken so prominent a part in the progress of ocean telegraphy that it was most fitting for her High Commissioner to do honour to the William Thompson whose investigations made possible the first Atlantic cable of 1858.

Look [he said] at the telegraphic map of to-day, and you realize how vital is Canadian coöperation in the telegraphic connections of the Old World and the New. The day will soon come when these Atlantic lines will be but the first link in truly Imperial lines which will make Canada the halfway house of the telegraphs of the Empire. In doing honour to Lord Kelvin, Canadians do not, moreover, forget that he was the first, in conjunction with the late Sir William Siemens, to suggest the conversion of the energy of Niagara into electric power. That Niagara conversion is but the beginning of a widespread harnessing of water-power in Canada, as well as in all North America.

[1] Amongst those who listened to the speech was the late W. T. Stead, who wrote: "In the vigour, the youthful freshness, the massive head crowned by the glistening snows, I seemed to see the great Dominion of Canada incarnate, and in his language I heard the Canadian creed of hope, self-confidence, and loyalty." It was Mr. A. G. Gardiner, editor of the *Daily News*, who afterwards wrote of Lord Strathcona as "Canada in a swallow-tail coat."

On the afternoon of Dominion Day their first reception was given by the High Commissioner for Canada, and Lady Smith, in celebration of the day at the Imperial Institute. The guests numbered between five and six hundred, and a feature of the occasion, then as afterwards, was that the music was supplied by Canadian musicians studying in Europe, to whom he was ever a patron.

The elections in Canada were by this time taking place. Sir Mackenzie Bowell had previously yielded the Premiership to Sir Charles Tupper, who fought valiantly on the hustings to retain it. But the verdict of the country was against him, and after eighteen years' exclusion the Liberals returned to power.

There was much speculation as to what effect this would have on Sir Donald's retention of his office.

If [commented the *World*] Mr. Laurier has the interests of his country at heart he will make no change in the British High Commissionership. That office is now filled by a gentleman who, of all Canadians, is best qualified for the position. Sir Donald A. Smith is probably the best-known Colonial in London. He is in touch with all great movements in which Canada is interested. Furthermore, he is a man of wealth, and is thereby enabled to create an impression on the British public which another representative might not be able to effect.

But the new Canadian Prime Minister needed no prompting of this kind. He wrote at once to Sir Donald expressing his hope that the result of the

elections would make no difference in the former's retention of the post.

BROWN'S HOTEL, DOVER STREET, LONDON,
15th July, 1896.

MY DEAR MR. LAURIER:—

Your most kind letter of the 3d July I had the pleasure of receiving to-day, only in time to send a line in acknowledgment by this morning's mail and to thank you, which I do very heartily for it.

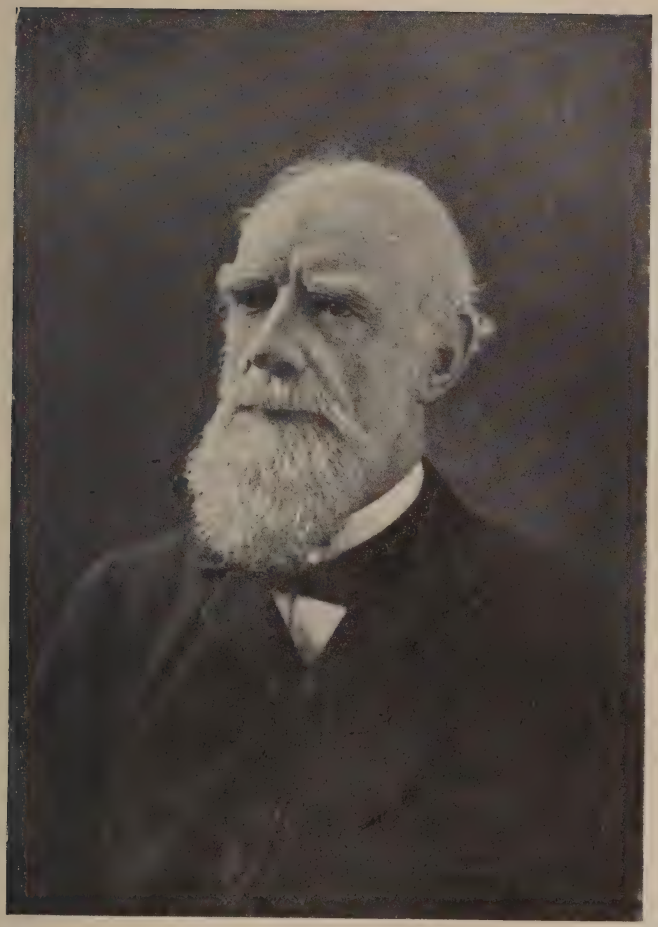
Although a Liberal-Conservative, an independent one in the fullest sense of the word, it affords me much gratification, as one who was happy to count you a personal friend, to congratulate you on the result of the elections, as I had the most complete confidence that the best interests of your country would in every way be safe in your hands.

I have a very pleasant and grateful recollection of the assurance you were good enough to give me in March, that of your utmost aid in disposing satisfactorily of the vexed questions of Manitoba Schools, which had it been properly handled was capable of settlement long ago. You may feel assured that if in any way I can assist in arriving at a result so much to be wished for, my best services will always be at your command.

I write in much haste, but believe me to be, etc.,

DONALD A. SMITH.

The same day, on being summoned to Windsor Castle to a private investiture, he received the order of the Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, of which order he had been a member for ten years. Sir Donald, on the 18th July, sailed for Canada in company with Sir



SIR DONALD A. SMITH, G.C.M.G., 1896

Mackenzie Bowell, his late colleague in the Pacific Cable Conference.

Before leaving for London in May he had added another to the magnificent series of benefactions which he had already conferred upon Montreal, in the building of the Royal Victoria College for the Higher Education of Women. The establishment of this institution introduced a new feature into Montreal university life — a feature which has very great attractions for the majority of students, and which has long been looked upon as a desideratum by a large proportion of university men. The Victoria College would be essentially a residential institution, as are the colleges of the British universities, having only subsidiary arrangements for teaching apart from those which its students would enjoy as members of the university.

It is looked upon by many [said the *Witness* newspaper] as only the beginning of the residential system carried out under the wise direction of the greatest friend of higher education that Canada has known.

Great care was exercised to have the interior appointments of Victoria College as nearly perfect as possible. The building was six stories in height, and included, in addition to the convocation hall, classrooms and residential quarters, a gymnasium, reading-room and library for the "Donaldas" (as the female students on the Donald A. Smith Foundation were already known). It was expected that the building would be ready at the beginning of the autumn session of the following year.

Queen Victoria accorded her sanction to the title and the college was under her patronage.

The visit to Canada was brief. Sir Donald was back in London on August 8, to resume his duties as High Commissioner, having in the intervening three weeks twice crossed the Atlantic and transacted important business at Ottawa and Montreal. Soon after his arrival he left to pass four or five days at his new country-seat in Scotland, after which his duties as lecturer and interpreter of Canada in Great Britain began in earnest.[1]

If the statistics into which he was prone to launch seem trite now, to some of us, let it be remembered that they were not so then. Vast audiences, comprising intelligent and well-informed men and women, listened spellbound to his recital of the advantages Canada offered to the immigrant. Today we may smile — Europe knows the story well, — but how fresh and attractive it seemed in 1896!

In no country in the world has an enterprising man a greater chance of making a success in life than in the Dominion, if he possesses the necessary qualities; and in Canada those qualities have always the chance of making their influence felt. There is no Established Church, and many other questions which in England are still the subject of controversy have settled themselves long ago in Canada.

He pursued his policy of public instruction on the resources of Canada whenever an opportunity

[1] "Canada in breeches" was the phrase applied to him by Mr. Labouchere, which is reminiscent of Sidney Smith's remark concerning Daniel Webster.

occurred. No opportunity was too small — and the need was great. One of his first addresses was at Newcastle.

Not only in Canada [he said], but in all the other Colonies, the feeling prevails that too little is known in the United Kingdom — the heart of the Empire — of its outlying portions, and we are all trying in every way to bring about a different state of things. It is no selfish object which has prompted us in our endeavours. We want to bring the Colonies into closer relations with the Mother Country. We wish to develop trade between the different parts of the Empire, as well as with other countries, and we much appreciate the great services of Mr. Chamberlain in directing public attention prominently to the matter. In the Colonies there are millions upon millions of acres of land only waiting to be cultivated to produce everything that man requires, and we want to attract to those lands the surplus capital and muscle of the United Kingdom. The increase of the population of the Colonies must add to their wealth and strength, and also to their productive and consuming capacities. Such results must necessarily tend to make the British Empire, of which we all are so proud, a greater factor in the progress of the world than it is even at the present time.

Although next year will be the fourth centenary of the landing of the Cabots in what is now Canada, and a part of the country is well advanced in the third century of its actual occupation, the positive, actual life of the Dominion, with all its potentialities brought within reach of the people, commenced a little more than ten years ago. Even now, although the population exceeds five million, only a fringe of the territory available for cultivation is inhabited. There are no

very large cities in Canada, in the sense in which the term is understood in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, and over forty-five per cent of the population find their means of subsistence and their opportunities for the accumulation of wealth in agriculture. Canada is proud of its sturdy yeoman farmers. Large holdings are exceptions and not the rule, and the policy of the Dominion and Provincial Governments is to encourage the immigration and settlement of small farmers. The holdings may be said to average from one hundred to three hundred acres.

The annual feast of the Master Cutlers' Company of Sheffield is an historic affair. Representatives of English diplomacy, statesmanship, literature, military, and naval science crowded the Cutlers' Hall on the feast-day in October to do honour to the great industry of Sheffield, and some very notable speeches were delivered.

The toast of "The Colonies" fell to Sir Howard Vincent, one of the members of Parliament for the city. In the course of his speech he said: —

God be thanked that the coming year 1897 bids fair to be an epoch in English history. It will not only be most notable in the annals of British Monarchy, but will also be, I hope, a witness to the efforts of the British Government and statesmen to make our Empire proof against shot and shell — not alone by the armour plates of Sheffield, but by the golden chains of mutual commerce. Greet to-night the pioneer of England's glorious work, the vast Dominion of Canada, ever in the van of public duty. I present to your acclamation great Canada's High Commissioner, Sir Donald Smith, who has borne a foremost part in binding, with the rails

of Sheffield, the stormy billows of the Atlantic with the boundless tracks of the far Pacific. Over the iron way is coming to our millions, as to our contemporarily afflicted brothers of the Far East, the unrivalled British corn of the Far West. Over the Empire — west by east and north by south — waves the banner of freedom, the cross of St. George, St. David, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, — our Union Jack. I give you the toast of your Colonies — the Colonies of the British Empire, coupled with the name of the Honourable Sir Donald Smith.

Warmly received was Sir Donald on rising to respond. He said: —

Sixty and more years ago, I became personally associated with Sheffield, by possessing a pocket knife bearing the name of your city. Thousands had come to know Sheffield in the same way, not only throughout the Kingdom, but throughout the world. And on finding myself in possession of that part of the wares of Sheffield, I was filled with pride and satisfaction, because, beholding the name "Sheffield," I knew that no better knife — no better tool for a good workman — could be found anywhere on the planet.

It has been said that the Colonies should come before the Mother Country and express their desire for a closer union. But it seems to me a matter of such great importance to the whole Empire, it would certainly not be unbecoming that Great Britain should approach the Colonies. We, in Canada, are proud of our Mother Country because we believe in it. We have there everything which has made the United States, and it is no doubt the same thing with the other Colonies — with Australia and South Africa. I can

only say on behalf of Canada, and, I think, equally on behalf of all the Colonies, that there are no more loyal subjects of the Queen than her subjects in those divisions of the Empire — not even in Sheffield, or in any part of this United Kingdom.

For years the burden of a hundred speeches and addresses was Canada's great need for more people.

There is a large emigration from the United Kingdom, a good deal of which goes outside the Empire, for want of proper direction. Yet in no country can more advantages be obtained by settlers of the right classes than in Canada.

In a new country there must necessarily be more openings for the young and energetic than in the older one, but it must be borne in mind that the same qualities are necessary for success there as elsewhere. A capacity for hard work, energy, and enterprise will make themselves felt anywhere, but nowhere so rapidly and with such great results as in a country like the Dominion.

People are sometimes sent to the Colonies for their country's good — some of them to do well, but many of them fail; and their want of success is not always attributed to themselves. That is not the class we want. Canada is a good place to live in, and offers abundant advantages to people of the right stamp who will come over and throw in their lot with us.

Certainly the great crying need of Canada was more people. "Without people," he wrote, "we can do nothing. All our resources are lying fallow — all our talents are hidden under a bushel." "Get population," Mr. Chamberlain told the Canadians, "and all else shall be added unto you."

Canada under-peopled

Into this truly Herculean task of filling up the Canadian North-West, Lord Strathcona flung himself with a passion extraordinary in one of his years. The apathy of the British people must be destroyed; the tendency of emigrants to travel to America must be counteracted. And so, as we shall see, he went up and down the country preaching indefatigably the gospel of what has been called the "ameliorating re-distribution of the British peoples." His success in this task is the measure of the debt owed him to-day by the Canadian nation, and especially the North-West. Of Canada he said it was a "field within the limits of the Empire where the capital, skill, and energy of those able to emigrate, may be preserved to the British Crown."

"The development of this country," wrote Sir John Macdonald as far back as 1880, "if left to Canadian resources alone, must necessarily be extremely slow. It is manifestly beyond the means of such a limited population as Canada now possesses, either themselves to furnish the population required to fill up the North-West or the capital necessary for its development. Emigration on a large scale, and precisely of that character which is most likely to take place from the United Kingdom, is essential; and it may be urged with much reason that the transference of a large body of the suffering people of Great Britain and Ireland to the wheat-fields of Manitoba and the North-West will directly benefit the United Kingdom much more than the settled Provinces of the Confederation, and will indirectly prove of still further

advantage by creating a new class of customers for goods, the products of whose industry are precisely those which are most essential for the independence of the United Kingdom for her food supplies."

In that year the Ottawa Government was actually prepared to consider a plan of systematic emigration, whereby Canada on her side would assume the entire charge for the civil government of the country and the maintenance of law and order, furnishing free land for the incoming population, and asking from the Imperial Government only its assumption of a reasonable proportion of the cost of the railway, and of the advances which would be required in assisting emigration on a large scale. Advances could be secured upon the lands reserved for sale by the Government in aid of the cost of construction of the Pacific Railway or upon the farms occupied by the emigrants or upon both, and the Imperial assistance to the railway might be defined and limited to its satisfaction.

But all this was a thing of the past. It shows, however, to what lengths the Canadian Government, with what Mr. Goldwin Smith had called a "white elephant on its hands," was then prepared to go. Now, the Canadian Pacific Railway had been built a decade ago and the agricultural potentialities of the country had been tried and found to be great even beyond the early expectations. Yet still the tide of emigration was to the south of the British line; still the intending British emigrant persisted in regarding Canada as a land of snow and ice and outside the range of his choice of a future home.

The Country's Fertility

Lord Strathcona recalled the enormous emigration to Canada of the thirties and forties.

"I am astonished," he said, "when I think of the conditions prevailing, that so many should have emigrated then and so few now." In a letter, written in 1896, he wrote that the Canadian Government attached the greatest possible importance to the resources and capabilities of the Dominion becoming better known and understood in the United Kingdom than they are at present, and a similar feeling prevails among the five million of her Majesty's subjects who form the population of its different provinces.

A considerable emigration [Sir Donald went on to say] takes place every year from the United Kingdom, some of which goes to Canada, some to the other Colonies, and the larger proportion apparently to foreign countries. Canadians would like to see a much greater part of this movement going to Canada, which offers advantages to immigrants not excelled by any other part of the world. The various Provinces — Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, Manitoba, the North-West Territories, and British Columbia — stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and offer a wide variety of climate to suit all comers, and a fertile soil which has been highly spoken of by the tenant-farmer delegations which have visited the country in recent years. Only a fringe of the territory is at present inhabited, and there are countless millions of acres of fertile soil, ready, with cultivation, to grow all the products of the temperate zone.

Lord Strathcona

To the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier

14th October, 1896.

One of the leading obstacles in the way of promotion of our interests, from an emigration standpoint, lies in the apathy of the New York lines, arising largely from the higher rates in operation from American ports to our North-West, as compared with those from Canadian ports. It applies not only to British emigration, but to Continental emigration; and we must make endeavours to get on better terms with the great companies, which do not help us in the matter of emigration at all at present.

To take an instance, the fare from New York to Winnipeg is £3 15*s.* 0*d.* From Quebec to Montreal it is £2 9*s.* 4*d.*, a difference of £1 5*s.* 8*d.* The Canadian Pacific Railway are not willing to equalize matters themselves, because, if they did, and had to pay £1 10*s.* 10*d.*, as they do now, upon every passenger travelling by way of New York, it would leave them only 18*s.* 6*d.* for their share of the haul. Perhaps the officers of the Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway might be requested to look into the matter, to see whether something cannot be done. If it were possible it would certainly tend to increase our emigration, for we would then have all the agents of the New York lines working for us. It would also materially increase our passenger traffic over the American lines with which the Canadian Pacific Railway is in connection. It might be worth the while of both the Canadian Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to coöperate toward bringing about such a result, in view of the great advantage it would have for Canada. It is of no use trying to do anything with the

British and Continental New York lines until the inequality is removed. In this connection it must be borne in mind as a principle that if the New York line agents are not working for us, their influence is either opposed to us, or is negative.

All of his emigration addresses were of an eminently practical character, conveying exactly the kind of information that a farmer or workingman would find useful if he harboured any thought of emigrating overseas. He spoke of the immense acreage awaiting cultivation, and of the crops that could be grown upon it. He told of the climate; of the remarkable development of our railways and canals; of our excellent banking system; of our great industrial enterprises; of our mines and minerals, second to none in the world; of the cosmopolitan character of our population; of our superior educational institutions; and of our desire to develop trade with the United Kingdom and to draw more closely the bonds of affection that attach us to the Empire. Not even the hundreds of varieties of wild flowers that so modestly "transform many parts of the prairies into huge flower gardens" were overlooked. His public addresses were those of a Canadian proud of his country, hopeful of its future, and anxious to do it service.

Early in January he had the pleasure to be present at a banquet tendered to his friend Sir Charles Tupper, who in the course of his speech uttered that panegyric of his successor in office to which allusion has already been made.

Canada now has the good fortune to have as my successor in the High Commissionership, Sir Donald Smith, a gentleman who possesses to an infinitely greater degree than either of his predecessors the confidence — [No, no] — yes — I say it advisedly — he possesses, and deservedly possesses, the confidence of both parties in Canada to an extent to which I could never make the slightest claim. And you will readily understand why, when, without mentioning his other great claims to public confidence, I say that the *magnum opus* of Canada, the Canadian Pacific Railway, would have no existence to-day, notwithstanding all that the Government did to support that undertaking, had it not been for the indomitable pluck and energy and determination, both financially and in every other respect, of Sir Donald Smith.

Lord Strathcona used to say that no tribute that had ever been paid him gave him greater pleasure than this from his former travelling companion over the desolate, snow-clad prairies to Fort Garry a generation before.

Naturally the project of a line of steamers running from Britain to a port in Hudson's Bay, and there connecting with a railway serving the North-West, had much personal interest for Sir Donald. His dictum on the subject deserves to be quoted: —

At first blush I should say its commercial practicability was not possible! But if my long life and experience have taught me anything, it is this: everything is possible. What man has done, man can do. There is no project so fantastic — there is no scheme of transportation so extravagant, — at which I would now

laugh — or which I am not disposed to believe, in capable hands, possible and even highly successful.

Which suggests that on one occasion Lady Strathcona exclaimed: "Really — I could no more do such a thing than I could fly."

"But, my dear," observed her husband quietly, "we can *all* fly now if we choose."

An application, made by the promoter of the Hudson's Bay route to the British Government for its coöperation in investigating the possibilities of the scheme, had been rejected. Sir Donald wrote again to Mr. Goschen urging him to reconsider his decision.

To the Right Honourable G. J. Goschen, M.P.

18th February, 1897.

It is a fact that the previous expeditions are not regarded as conclusive by many in Canada, and especially by a large number of the inhabitants of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, who are fully impressed with the belief that navigation is practicable for at least several months of the year in Hudson's Bay and Straits.

You will readily understand, therefore, the desire that exists that the question should be investigated in a very thorough manner, in order that the practicability of the new route, or otherwise, may be satisfactorily demonstrated. This result is more likely to be achieved with the coöperation of Her Majesty's Government than without it.

If the route, even with specially constructed steamers, should prove to be practicable for a sufficient time

each year to encourage commercial enterprise, it would be of importance to Manitoba and the North-West Territories and also to the exporters and importers of the United Kingdom. The North-West Territories and Manitoba promise to afford a large market for British produce, and their capacity is great for raising food supplies of various kinds which are so largely imported into Great Britain.

Therefore, in view of all these circumstances, I hope you will be so kind as to reconsider the question, and I trust, after consultation with your colleagues, some means may be found of coöperating with the Canadian Government in the proposed investigation, not only by deputing an officer to accompany the expedition, but by sharing in the expenses that will necessarily have to be incurred.

But the British Government again declined, and ultimately the investigation was made by Canada. The result was the commencement of the Hudson's Bay railway.

One of the matters which on the threshold of the Jubilee Year gave him great concern was the fate of the Imperial Institute, which with a mighty blaze of trumpets had promised to accomplish such a great work for the Imperial idea. The splendid building had been open only four or five years and now already appeared to be threatened with bankruptcy. The amount derived from the endowment fund just sufficed to pay the rates and taxes and the interest on the debt. For the rest the Institute had only its modest subscription list as an assured income; and the balance of its working expenses had to be made out of Colonial contributions and

what it could raise by catering for the general public as a place of recreation and amusement.

You will see [wrote Lord Strathcona to Sir Wilfrid Laurier in March, 1897] that Mr. Labouchere says that "the history of the Institute is a monument of reckless extravagance, purposeless effort, and incompetent administration." It is a great pity, because I believe it could still in other hands fulfil its purpose.

He reverted to the subject in Ottawa, whither he proceeded at the end of March to consult the Government.

To the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier

Ottawa, 13 April, 1897.

So far as Canada is concerned, we are not getting from the Institute the results which we ought to expect. This arises a good deal from the lukewarm interest that appears to be taken in the matter in Canada.

Ontario, Quebec, and Manitoba, and perhaps British Columbia, have a fair collection of products, but nothing like what might be sent if the effort was made. New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island take no part in the Institute at all; they have no collection and hitherto have refused to pay any money.

The North-West Territories have hitherto paid their share of the bills, but have sent over no exhibits. The same remark applies very much to Nova Scotia. The exhibits could be made of much more use if the whole expenditure was provided by the Canadian Government, and the Canadian Court managed from the High Commissioner's office.

What we have to consider before doing anything on

the lines suggested is what is going to be the future of the Institute? It is very evident, unless the finances are placed in a more satisfactory condition, the Institute must collapse.

With Lord Herschel (who is Chairman of the Institute) I had some conversation on the subject just before I left England, and he appeared to think that, if the present difficulties could be tided over for a few years, the Institute would come into an annual sum from the Commission of the Exhibition of 1851, which would put it on a solid basis. Meantime, however, its condition is far from being satisfactory.

Interesting is it to learn now that he at one time entertained the notion of buying the Imperial Institute outright and reorganizing it on a new basis. He was not deterred by the expense, but by a doubt whether the expenditure would be justified by its usefulness.

On the 10th of March, Sir Donald departed on the *Teutonic* on another brief visit to Canada to consult with Dominion Ministers, and especially with the Honourable Clifford Sifton, the new Minister of the Interior, on the all-important subject of the immigration policy of the Administration.

The sensational gold discoveries in the Klondyke were rapidly proving the long-desired magnet for immigrants. On every hand one heard of the "rush to the Klondyke," and the stirring incidents of the great California mining boom of 1849 were about to be reënacted.

The world [he wrote in March, 1897] has taken a long time to find out the mineral wealth of the Yukon

district. I recall many old Hudson's Bay pioneers telling of the gold there nearly half a century ago, and it was reported to the Company longer ago than that, but it was not then considered to be "in their line."

CHAPTER XXII

THE ANNUS MIRABILIS

To the students of British political history, the year 1897 will ever mark an era in the relations of the United Kingdom and the Oversea Dominions. A decade before there had been celebrated by the British people the Jubilee of Queen Victoria's reign. Albeit in the short space of ten years, the whole Imperial outlook changed. Conditions at home and abroad were not the same. Whosoever takes the pains to explore the annals of that decade will be struck by the new mood of Imperial sentiment which now swept over the whole Empire. Representatives of the Colonies had visited England in 1887: but they came unofficially, and for the temper, the spirit, and the knowledge with which they were received, one glance at the newspapers of the period, recording the well-meant but patronizing speeches delivered on many notable occasions, will suffice.[1]

The Jubilee celebration of 1897 [wrote the Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons], has either

[1] "A few years ago people from Canada and the Colonies were regarded in England as merely those to whom it was well to be civil — very worthy backwoods people, but hardly worth while crossing the sea to recognize. We know that our neighbours of the United States were thought highly of and seen everywhere in society: but was it so of ourselves from Canada?" (Lord Strathcona, Speech in Toronto. November, 1900.)

caused or elicited an Imperial sentiment, the strength of which was never before displayed or suspected. Was it a little thing that, as a pledge of kinship and love, the greatest of all commercial powers denounced two of her most important commercial treaties, in order to help Canada to draw nearer to her? Assuredly a new epoch has at last come in the world's history, when the discovery has been made that a parent nation can bind a Colony closer to her by striking off all its fetters, and can win its enduring loyalty by a gift of the broadest freedom.[1]

The Colonies [said Sir Donald Smith] are taking a prominent position in the United Kingdom this year. Their status in the Empire has at last been recognized. They have been invited for the first time to participate in a national celebration. They will share in the rejoicings of the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of Her Majesty's reign. Their military and police forces will be represented in the royal procession, and their Prime Ministers will be the guests of the Imperial Government. Let us hope that their great gatherings may lead to a closer union among the family nations, — all under one flag and owning allegiance to one Sovereign, — which make up the British Empire.

In ten years the British Empire had, indeed, moved notably and the most marked progress had been made by Canada. Canada was the acknowledged leader amongst the dominions overseas. We have noted several causes contributing to enhance her prestige. We have seen, after a period of stagnation, an enfeebled Government overthrown and a new Administration, at the head of which was a

[1] The Honourable J. D. Edgar, *Canada and its Capital.*

French-Canadian of great personal distinction and eloquence, of whom as yet little was known and everything was hoped, enter upon the scene.

It was in the spring of this year that the question of the fiscal relations between Canada and the United Kingdom came almost dramatically to the forefront in Imperial politics. In April there came the Fielding Tariff Law by which preferential treatment was accorded to Great Britain, unconditionally. Thus a great and momentous step was taken toward that Imperial union which had been preached so long and preached in vain. It lent the British advocates of tariff reform a practical basis from which to launch their policy; although in Canada it was rather a step toward the free trade long promised by the Liberal Party —

But before the preference could go into effect the treaties with Germany and Belgium had to be denounced by Great Britain and this was later agreed to.[1] The announcement of the Fielding Tariff, according preference to British goods and denouncing the existing treaty with Germany, thrilled the whole Empire, evoking from Mr. Kipling, then at the very height of his renown, the lines, —

> " Daughter in my mother's house,
> But mistress in mine own,"

[1] "The abrogation of the treaties left the commercial relations between the United Kingdom and Belgium and Germany in an unstable position; a new treaty was later negotiated with Belgium, but the enjoyment of most-favoured-nation treatment in Germany has since rested only on an annual resolution of the Bundesrath. It was, however, primarily against Canada, as will be seen later, that German resentment was directed." (O. D. Skelton, *Canada and its Provinces.*)

in which Canada proclaimed her fiscal and commercial independence.

The High Commissioner returned to his post in the second week in May, and a few days later took part in a great banquet, presided over by his friend the Marquess of Lorne.

Sir Donald Smith [said Lord Lorne] has just come back from a journey to Canada, where his presence was so often sought that his countrymen must find it difficult to persuade themselves to send him over here to represent them, he is so necessary both in Europe and in Canada. It is the opinion of one and all who have had anything to do with the Canadian Office that no better High Commissioner from the great Dominion of Canada could possibly have been chosen, and we hope he may be continued in that office in good health and strength for many years to come.

Replying to the toast of "Her Majesty's Colonies," Sir Donald said

that the subject of the toast was one of great and noble proportions. It is one which comes home to the heart of every colonist who is proud that his particular Colony is a part and that he is himself a citizen of that great Empire on which the sun never sets. He feels that in England he is every bit as fully an Englishman as any of you. He has all the sentiment and reminiscences of an Englishman, and having them he is all the better citizen of the Colony in which he lives. Looking back to the commencement of the reign of the Queen, what do we find? In Canada we had what was called a rebellion. An important portion of the people were in arms, because they thought those rights to which they

were entitled as Englishmen were not given to them at that time. What have we there now? Are these very same people — that French-speaking people — any less loyal than the English-speaking people? There is a large proportion of English-speaking people in Canada, and they have chosen for their Premier a French-speaking statesman. We know for a certainty that there could be no more devoted subjects of the Queen. It has been said that Canadians have been looking toward Washington. Let me say that there is not one iota of truth in any such suggestion. If Canada were polled, not one man in a hundred — not one man in a thousand — would be found who did not wish to live and die under the British flag. Sixty years ago the Colonies were little known over here, but this has altered, and everybody now knows Australia and Africa almost as well as his own country. That is a good thing, the drawing together of the Colonies. I have the honour of representing eight colonies, now happily one; and I hope we shall shortly be able to say the same of the great Colonies in Australia and Africa. Every colonist looks upon this sixtieth year of the Queen's reign with as great an interest as you do, for the Queen is to them, as to you, not only a model Sovereign, but a model woman. Even among our neighbours in the United States, no sovereign could be looked up to with more regard than is our beloved Queen.

There was a curious protest in certain quarters against the term "Our Lady of the Snows," as applied to Canada. This Lord Strathcona did not share.

I really do not see why we should be ashamed of our snow. It seems to me that I have heard this same snow praised a great deal by a great many poets and

certainly about Christmas-time I am told that the most popular pictures are those depicting snow-clad scenery. Our beautiful Canadian snow used to be considered a great asset instead of a drawback. Personally I think snow, besides being very beautiful, is a wonderful convenience to the people of the Canadian countryside which England lacks, and to it, besides, is due much of the special fertility of our soil.

It is not too much to say that England's interest in the visit of the Premiers largely centred upon the picturesque figure of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This interest now began to be warmly stimulated by the newspapers. Into London journalism had recently leapt a new force; the lethargic, the oracular, and the dull had been forced to make way in popular esteem to the sprightliness, vigour, and brilliancy of youth.

The career of Mr. Alfred Harmsworth, afterwards Lord Northcliffe, will offer a curious study to future historians and philosophers. For a long time his volatility merely entertained the serious-minded. It is now recognized that his influence has been profound and far-reaching. We cannot yet fairly estimate his contribution to the politics and national habits of thought and action in England for the last twenty years. Nevertheless, a shrewd American observer, the late John Hay, once gave it as his opinion that modern British Imperialism, "as a popular force, was largely the joint production of four men," Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Strathcona, Rudyard Kipling, and Lord Northcliffe.

My own intimate connection with the then Mr. Harmsworth dates from the beginning of 1895, before he had yet ventured either into politics or daily journalism. In the spring of 1896 he founded the *Daily Mail*, with which I became editorially associated.

As a Canadian, dwelling at the heart of the Empire, and not unresponsive to Canadian activities and aspirations, I naturally endeavoured to secure Mr. Harmsworth's interest in anything which would be an advantage in making Canada and her affairs figure a little more prominently in the public eye. It is entertaining enough to look back over that brief intervening span of years and mark how different is the popular knowledge of and interest in the Dominion now compared to what it was then.[1]

From the first, Sir Donald, with whom I had many conversations on the subject, agreed with me in thinking that one cause of the little knowledge concerning Canada possessed by the average Eng-

[1] At the risk of seeming to obtrude myself unduly I may mention that when I introduced Mr. Harmsworth to the High Commissioner, I proposed to the former that I should tour the Dominion from ocean to ocean, and endeavour to set forth our resources in an attractive light for the enormous public his newspaper already commanded. This was arranged, greatly to Sir Donald Smith's satisfaction, and the fruits of a protracted journey from Newfoundland to the Pacific continued to appear, under the title of "Our Western Empire" in the *Daily Mail*, well on into the spring of 1897. Sir Donald very kindly wrote me that these articles had "popularized Canada to a most gratifying extent." On my return to London, I was happily enabled to act as a sort of unofficial *avant-courier* to the Honourable Mr. Laurier, the new and then personally unknown Prime Minister of the Dominion.

lishman, was the paucity of Canadian news in the British press. Canada was a "land of snow," and Montreal was rarely mentioned, save in connection with her annual ice-palace. Sir Donald put it in this way in a confidential letter to Mr. Laurier:—

To the Honourable Wilfrid Laurier

20th August, 1896.

You are aware, I think, that very little Canadian news finds its way into English newspapers. This arises largely from competition having ceased between Reuter's and Dalziel's agencies. The latter is practically non-existent, and the former for some years past seem to have been restricting their expenditure, so far as Canadian news is concerned. Then, again, none of the papers, with the exception of the *Times*, have any correspondents in Canada who send telegraphic information. In fact, the *Times* is the only paper in which Canadian news appears at all regularly. In the other papers it is only telegrams about things of a startling or morbid nature which appear to obtain publicity, and it is to matters of that kind that Reuter's agents seem largely to devote their attention.

The *Times*, as you know, has a comparatively limited circulation, and does not reach the middle class. Consequently very little information relating to the commercial or industrial progress of the country reaches the larger public, and a valuable medium for educating the people of the United Kingdom about the resources and capabilities of Canada is lacking. Canadians who visit England are struck by the lack of Canadian news and you will see it frequently commented upon in press interviews on their return.

Naturally, I look upon the matter largely from the advertisement point of view. To have Canada and Canadian news of a desirable nature appearing frequently in the English papers would be of great use to us. It would help emigration, it would help the extension of trade, and would be beneficial from every point of view. As the news agencies are apparently not prepared to incur any expense in the matter, and the newspapers do not appoint their own agents in the Dominion, the question is, How is the difficulty to which I have referred to be got over?

It occurs to me that it would be most useful to me, as High Commissioner for Canada, and as the representative of the Dominion in this country, to receive from you once or twice a week, or even a little more frequently, should it be necessary or desirable, telegrams informing me of anything that may be happening in the Dominion of an interesting nature and illustrating the progress of the country. For instance, particulars about the revenue and expenditure, imports and exports, the experimental farms, the crops in the different districts, and mining and industrial development, would be most valuable; the same remark applies to anything which would serve to draw the attention of the people to the Dominion and interest them in its progress and welfare.

I commend the matter to your consideration, and shall be glad if you will let me know what you think of my proposal at your convenience.

There are many episodes of that *Annus mirabilis* which are far less significant than the one I am about to relate.

Hearing that a little private entertainment of the

visiting First Ministers of the Colonies had been planned, Mr. Harmsworth, at my suggestion, resolved upon giving a large party at his town residence in Berkeley Square.

His newspapers, meanwhile, led the way by giving prominence to the personality and every circumstance connected with the approaching visit of the oversea notabilities.

The Author to Sir Donald A. Smith

2d June, 1897.

I hasten to acknowledge your kind note of yesterday. Mr. Harmsworth and myself need no assurance of your warm coöperation. This is to be a great Colonial year — it will not be our fault if it is not also a great *Canadian* year.

Mr. Laurier sails to-day by the *Lucania*. He will, of course, take precedence amongst the overseas Premiers, not only by reason of Canada's status, but because of his own personality. Ought not we Canadians to give him an especially cordial welcome, not only in London, but on his arrival in Liverpool? I suggested to Mr. Archer Baker that a party of us travel down and meet the *Lucania* in Liverpool Harbour next Wednesday. He approved heartily of this, but thought it essential you should head the party.

Please let me know your opinion of this little plan.

Unluckily, on the very day this letter was written Sir Donald was attacked by one of those violent colds to which he was constitutionally subject and a verbal message came to me that he was confined to his bed. Under the circumstances it was thought

wise not to press him to accompany the party of Canadians from London. Arrangements were made for a steam tug and a small brass band of five musicians to meet the *Lucania* at the entrance of Liverpool Harbour, on the 10th. But alas, difficulties arose — the weather threatened and there was grave doubt of the exact time of the steamer's arrival; it might be midnight — the tug might loiter about the harbour for twenty-four hours. The threatened ordeal was not too severe for Young Imperialism, but it was unacceptable to the musicians and also to the master of the vessel, who imposed conditions which could, we thought, not prudently be fulfilled. Wherefore, reluctantly, the welcome by water was abandoned.

On June 7, I wrote to Sir Donald: —

For the reception on the 21st to the Premiers, we have engaged Melba, Paderewski, and Miss Crossley. It is sincerely to be hoped that nothing else will happen on that evening — such, for example, as a dinner-party at Windsor! Judging from a conversation I had yesterday at the Colonial Office with Mr. Baillie-Hamilton, I should say that anything they can do to discourage us they will do. The permanent staff would prefer everything this year should be strictly official.

On the same day I received the following: —

From Sir Donald Smith

53 Cadogan Square, S.W.,
Whitmonday, 7th June, 1897.

Ever since the receipt of your note of the 2d, I have been practically laid up from the effects of a severe

cold which still hangs over me; but if you can make it convenient to call at my office, 17 Victoria Street, between eleven and twelve to-morrow morning, I shall be very glad of the opportunity of talking over with you the matter referred to by you, of a special and cordial welcome to the Honourable Mr. Laurier, our Dominion Premier.

I, and let me add that all Canadians, will greatly appreciate the warm interest taken by Mr. Harmsworth and yourself in this; and with best regards for you and him, believe me, etc.

When I duly explained to the High Commissioner that the Liverpool scheme had been abandoned, he seemed disappointed. "I had been thinking," he said, "what a splendid surprise it would be and had made up my mind that the little sea-trip would do me good. However, I suppose you are right."

Of the welcome given by London to Canada's Premier, Mr. Laurier had no reason to complain. It was a personal triumph. The First Ministers of the other Colonies arriving took up their quarters in the Hotel Cecil as royal guests, where they were waited on by servants in the royal livery, while royal carriages were at their bidding. No wonder that some of these Colonial dignitaries were a little dazzled by the brilliancy of their welcome. For the first time in their lives, they felt the full force of being representative: for their personalities and achievements alike were unknown. Their carriages wound their way hither and thither, the newspapers chronicled the most trifling actions of the Colonial notabilities. British officialdom called and

left their cards. But until the 21st of June, the Prime Ministers were socially *nomina et præterea nihil.* London society held aloof from any practical demonstration. To invite to their drawing-rooms and dinner-tables colonists of whom nothing personally was known was too revolutionary of etiquette. They would smile benignly, they would even condescend to wave the fluttering cambric, but not yet would Mayfair open wide the portals of its houses.

Such being Mr. Harmsworth's opportunity, he took full advantage of it. Fifteen hundred invitations were issued to the leaders of London society, ambassadors, prominent members of Parliament, to those at the bar and on the stage, to this reception, "to meet the Colonial Premiers."

The long régime of "Mr. Mother Country," humorously prefigured by J. K. Stephen, was rapidly drawing to a close. But the discredited autocrat could still aim a blow at "pushfulness."

Certain Colonial Office officials, regarding the proceeding as very irregular and even impertinent, took prompt, but, as they thought, effectual means for turning it into a fiasco. For the reception, of which all London was now talking, "to meet the Premiers," would be absurd without the presence of the Premiers themselves. Before it was possible for us to change the date it was announced that Her Majesty the Queen had commanded the Premiers to a reception that evening at Buckingham Palace!

A Threatened Contretemps

From Sir Donald Smith

I sympathize with you most unfeignedly, but I really do not see what remedy there can be. It is most unfortunate, but you may rest assured that Mr. Chamberlain was not concerned in the matter, which is entirely out of his control.

Sir Donald then shared our suspicions, but we had no proof until some time afterwards of their correctness, that this was a deliberate attempt to frustrate the Harmsworth party, by way of administering a rebuke to what was called Mr. Harmsworth's "pushful Imperialism." I remember Sir Donald's quiet laugh as he said, "I am afraid I also am laying myself open to the charge of pushful Imperialism."

The original date for the Royal Reception was June 20. It is needless to say that the Queen was wholly ignorant of these graceless machinations.

In this emergency I sought Mr. Laurier, who was quite as much chagrined over our threatened predicament as we were.

"If," I urged, "this function at Buckingham Palace does not last till midnight, will you come to Berkeley Square on the 21st?"

"Certainly," he replied promptly; "I will come if it lasts till past midnight"; adding, generously, "moreover, I will endeavour to induce my fellow-Premiers to come the moment we can get away without infringing etiquette."

The evening arrived, the mansion in Berkeley Square was crowded with one of those brilliant

assemblages which illustrate a London "season." Soon after ten o'clock the royal carriages began to arrive in quick succession and a series of individuals, resplendent in new laced coats, knee-breeches, and cocked hats, and each wearing a sword, crossed the threshold. The circumstance of the Windsor uniform, which would otherwise have been impossible, added much to the *éclat* of the occasion. Sir Donald afterwards spoke to me of the general sensation produced by the arrival and announcement of "The Honourable Mr. Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Her Majesty's Dominion of Canada."

Such was the popular *début* in London of a statesman who became as familiar and welcome a figure at Imperial reunions as any in the galaxy of statesmen from overseas.[1]

The evening was not to pass without a further episode. By special messenger from Sir Donald, I received a copy of the London *Gazette*, damp from the press. The company was first to learn her Majesty's gracious intentions:—

To be a Baron of the United Kingdom, Sir Donald Alexander Smith, K.C.M.G.

Hardly less gratifying was the announcement:—

To be a Grand Cross of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, Honourable Wilfrid Laurier.

[1] The ignorance of the Colonies, rife in what is called "Society," will at this time to many seem incredible. One lady, inviting the Colonial representative to a garden party, addressed a special request to Sir Wilfrid Laurier that he and his fellow-guests from overseas would "kindly appear in their native costumes." The letter has been preserved as a curiosity.

To Canada's Prime Minister I turned with the *Gazette* in my hands, proud to offer my congratulations, and to be the first to address him as "Sir Wilfrid."

From Sir Donald A. Smith

You are indeed very kind to write in the manner you have done concerning the high honour Her Majesty has been pleased to bestow upon my unworthy self. I regard it as one, not so much paid to me as to Canada, and I think it will generally and properly be so regarded.

There later ensued some difficulty in the choice of a title for the new peer. Having purchased the interesting Scottish estate of Glencoe, he had at first contemplated that of Baron Glencoe, but a sentimental local opposition developed with which he himself rather sympathized. The title of Montreal had been conceded to Earl Amherst. A compromise was effected. Glencoe — the *glen* or *valley* of *Conan* — has its approximate Gaelic equivalent in *Strathcona*. Not until August, on the eve of his departure for Canada, was the High Commissioner gazetted "A Baron of the United Kingdom by the name, style, and title of Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal, of Glencoe, in the County of Argyll, and of Mount Royal, in the Province of Quebec and Dominion of Canada."[1] Like Lord Mountstephen, Sir Donald Smith thus effected in his new title a

[1] "I have consulted the proper authorities," he wrote (October 20), "and find that it is not necessary, when signing my name on ordinary occasions, to use the whole of my title. So I shall hereafter confine myself to 'Strathcona' only."

happy blending of Scottish and Canadian associations.

On his first visit to Glencoe after being raised to the peerage a great ovation awaited him, and he was presented with an illuminated address from his tenants, servants, and others on the Glencoe estate.

Said the Montreal *Star:* —

> That Canada's new peer has chosen "Mount Royal" as one of his titles will rejoice all Canadians who live under the shadow of the Mount itself. Now that he has selected it, that title seems marvellously appropriate. Mount Royal looks down on many a memento of the Baron's long kindness and practical philanthropy. The Royal Hospital, which was the gift to the city of her two peers, lies just at its foot; and a little to the right are the grounds of McGill, which no one can visit without being reminded of the generosity of "Sir Donald," — for as "Sir Donald" Montreal learned to love him, — and hard it will be to think of him under a new name.

At the annual Dominion Day Banquet on July 1, at which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the guest of honour, the new peer led the way in a Jubilee rendering of the loyal toasts, and it was pleasant to hear the burst of enthusiasm with which they were received. He himself was greeted with exceptional warmth, of which the Marquess of Lorne supplied the explanation when he declared his chief difficulty to be, how to address their chairman. "He has not yet confided in me by what title to address him. I shall, however, make no mistake if I call him and congratulate him as Lord High Commissioner for

Canada" — a happy reference most happily received.

Next came the "Dominion of Canada," proposed by Sir Donald, the toastmaster having previously given the injunction "Fill your bumpers to the brim, if you please, gentlemen." "Canada," Sir Donald said with patriotic fervour, "has all the possibilities of becoming a country equal to that of their friends on the south of the boundary line." And as he went on to pave the way for the Premier by a sketch of the steps leading up to the position which Confederated Canada holds to-day, "We in Canada," he said, "are a contented people and we are proud to feel that we are members, and not unimportant members, of this great Empire. We hope the day may be near when other Colonies will take a leaf out of our Federation book. How could the unity and devotion of Canada to the Empire be better shown than by the presence here this evening of one who, though not an Englishman, is as thoroughly English as any other? We may not," added Sir Donald, "have seen eye to eye on political matters; still I never was a very great partisan. I look perhaps more to measures than to men, and feel, as every one here must feel, that, no matter whether Liberal or Tory be in power, Canadians will exhibit the same devotion and loyalty."

Nearly seventeen years of work and achievement lay before him; yet, when he sailed for Canada, a peer of the realm, he was supposed in many quarters to be on the point of retirement from the High Commissionership. Frequent were the refer-

ences to gentlemen who were prepared to succeed him. A proposal was even put forward that upon the conclusion of the Earl of Aberdeen's term as Governor-General, Lord Strathcona should be appointed his successor.

One leading Canadian journal strongly advocated the appointment. "Canadians, irrespective of party, taking pride in his character and career, would like to see him at Rideau Hall. His claims were, it reasoned, of an exceptional character, and he would take rank with the most distinguished subjects of Her Majesty's who have filled the position."

But Lord Strathcona would not hear of such a proposal. In his opinion it would "wholly subvert the happy arrangement which had existed and ought always to exist between the central political authority and the outlying parts. The Governor-Generalship, having always been held by a non-Canadian, was a material factor in cementing the relations between the Dominion and the Mother Country."

He even disapproved strongly of the appointment of Lieutenant-Governors from the same Province. When I once mentioned to him that a certain politician had been appointed to the gubernatorial chair in his own Province, he said, "A good man, but a great pity. If they had sent him West he could better have done justice to himself. His local antecedents will hamper him."

That aspect of his peerage which pleased him most was his thus becoming a member of the Imperial Parliament. He liked to think of himself as

a pioneer of the future band of Canadian representatives at Westminster. Yet he recognized the difficulties in the way.

The idea of Colonial representation in the councils of the Empire is a pleasing one to the Englishmen, and any feasible scheme will be eagerly welcomed. There are, of course, many difficulties with which to contend. There is the question of taxation. Taxation without representation is objectionable; but representation without taxation is hardly possible; and it is difficult to say how far the people of the Colonies would be willing to contribute to an Imperial fund.

One result of the new Canadian tariff and of Sir Wilfrid's utterances, however, is to direct British attention very strongly to our country, and we may expect not only a large increase in our trade with Britain, but also that the British investor and capitalist will be more willing than before to put money in legitimate enterprises in Canada. They think a great deal of the Colonies in England just now, and will gladly assist in strengthening the ties which bind them to the Mother Country.

He recognized that there was much useful "spade-work" to be done. The Mother Country and Canada must be drawn together gradually by the force of common interests, they must achieve a unity which would make them mutually necessary. The constitutional changes would come simply and easily.

On his return to England in September he plunged newly into his official duties. Each day these grew in magnitude. Besides the ordinary routine, in-

volving the despatch of hundreds of letters and giving personal interviews to callers, there were several large schemes which he had much at heart. At this time the chief amongst these was the long-canvassed plan of a "fast Atlantic service" by which steamers would make the voyage from the British Isles to a Canadian port in five or six days. For many years past, the lines running to Canadian ports, and carrying both mails and passengers, had had imminent over their heads the threat of a fast and heavily subsidized mail service of which they might or might not be the providers.

It is impossible [complained one of them] to imagine anything more paralyzing or repressive of enterprise than the policy which the Canadian authorities have followed. While larger and faster steamers have been provided for the New York passenger service, the steamship lines to Canada have been practically compelled to mark time, not knowing what was to be done.

There were difficulties about making terms with the Messrs. Allan, or with the Dominion or Beaver lines. But the prospect that the British Government would also assist with a large subsidy tempted an enterprising contractor named Peterson to come forward with an offer to operate such a steamship system.

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

London, 6th October, 1897.

As shown by my official letters of to-day and cable message to your address of the 25th and 28th Septem-

ber, I have not been idle since my return from Canada in the matter of the "fast Atlantic service."

My cable message of to-day advises you that Peterson, Tate & Co. have paid into the Bank of Montreal here £10,000, the cash guarantee required of them in connection with their contract.

Mr. Peterson has been with me to-day, and on my pointing out to him that securities for a further sum of £10,000 must be lodged, he assured me that this would be forthcoming within the next few days and I think we may count on this being carried out. There appears to be every reasonable expectation that he will be able to form a company with the required capital, but it will take some time yet before he can complete his arrangements, and until he has secured five directors to whom no objection can be taken and until the whole of the capital wanted has actually been underwritten by men or firms of undoubted financial standing, I cannot recommend that your Government should be directly represented on the board, nor until then would it be wise in my opinion to approach Mr. Chamberlain on the subject, with the view of having a director representing the Imperial Government. Mr. Chamberlain is at present in Switzerland, but is expected back soon.

You may feel assured that there will be every effort on my part to push the matter on to a satisfactory conclusion, but to insure success we must see that every step taken is in the right direction, and it is a decided gain that Peterson is to complete his deposit without availing himself of the sixty days before doing so.

To-day I had an opportunity of explaining the position to Mr. Fielding, and I think he is satisfied that we are doing all that is possible to expedite matters.

With regard to the subject the Finance Minister has more immediately before him, that of the proposed loan, I think there is every prospect that it will be entirely satisfactory.

But it soon appeared that Mr. Peterson desired more definite backing from the Government and from Lord Strathcona himself.

From Sir Wilfrid Laurier

OTTAWA, 9th November, 1897.

The matter of the fast Atlantic service, we think, has reached a point at which some definite conclusion, one way or the other, must be taken.

Mr. Peterson has been asking us recently to agree to two different things: First, that Milford Haven should be the terminus, and second, that you should be on the board of directors of the company.

With regard to the first demand concerning Milford Haven, this is a point which must be left for further consideration, when everything else has been settled. As to your going on the board, this is a matter which has to be very carefully considered. It seems that unless something is done to help him, Peterson is now powerless and cannot carry out his contract. It also looks as if, unless you undertake yourself to pull him through, the matter must fail. The question is now whether it would be too great an undertaking to ask you practically to organize the company and make it a success. If it were to be a failure ultimately, would you not think that the investors would hold the Government responsible for having allowed the company to have the encouragement of the presence on the board of the High Commissioner? In other words, we

think that it would not be advisable for you to accept a position on the board, unless your judgment is clear that the whole scheme is to turn out well financially, not only for the Government of Canada, but for the investors also. Unless you are satisfied of that, we think it better to press the matter to a conclusion and let the contract drop. There has been too much procrastination already. We have lost one season. It is time that we should be prepared to put the matter in such a shape as not to lose another.

The jubilation over the fast line was premature. It became clear that the projector could not carry out his contract. As the High Commissioner wrote:

The position is an awkward one, but I am not without good hopes that a fast Atlantic service can still be arranged for on reasonable terms, and I shall certainly be glad to aid in every possible way in accomplishing this.

For the present, then, the fast line was shelved. Lord Strathcona expressed the utmost sympathy for Mr. Peterson, whom he regarded as an honourable man, who did his utmost to supplement his promise.

It was too much for him, but this does not mean that it would be too much for every man. I received a letter, shortly before I left England, from one of the partners in a large shipbuilding firm, who has no interest one way or the other in the Canadian service, and who said that Canada should never consent to anything but a fast service, seeing that with the recent development the speed of the great Atlantic liners would be increased. Twenty knots was the least

that the country should accept was the opinion of this gentleman. My own personal opinion is that Canada should secure the very fastest service for such subsidy as she can afford to give. To accept anything less would be unfair to those companies which are already in the business, and which supply an ordinary speed. Of course I do not speak of any temporary arrangement. I mean the contract for the fast service. This should be modern in every sense, and the fastest which could be obtained. No permanent subsidy should be given for a comparatively slow service which would enter into competition with that which we already possess.

He had serious thoughts of taking the whole project on his own shoulders and carrying it through. From this he was eventually dissuaded, but it had long an attraction for him. Before many years had passed the Canadian Pacific Railway Company entered the Atlantic steamship field, with vessels of a superior class.

Meanwhile, Lord Strathcona had been making numerous speeches throughout the Kingdom. Replying at a dinner of the Walsall Chamber of Commerce, on October 21, to the toast "To the Colonies," he expressed the earnest hope that before long the Australian Colonies would not be distinct or separate, but united in a commonwealth embracing the whole of their vast territories. He hoped also to see a similar Federation in Africa, and another in the West Indian Islands.

There was [he continued] a short time back a denunciation of certain treaties which had a very great in-

fluence in keeping the Colonies from that closer commercial union with the Mother Country which they were all desirous to have. He thought it was not too much to say that to Canada it was in some measure owing that the denunciation of these treaties had come at the present moment. Canada was desirous of showing that she would be heart and hand with the Mother Country in everything that was in the best interest of both, and offered to England a preference in commercial matters which she would not give to the other nations. If that preference had not been carried out in its entirety, it was not the fault of Canada. It was because of treaty requirements with Belgium, Germany, and other countries. There had, too, been the difficulty about the rate of duty which would be imposed by the United States on goods imported through Canada. That, however, he was glad to say, had been disposed of happily for Canada, and by July next the treaties would be got rid of, and there would be a clear gain of twenty-five per cent for England, upon the goods affected.

They would welcome all who were willing to work and determined to take a part in making Canada not only what she must become, a very great nation, not a separate nation, but one in the closest comity with the English nation. Such a toast as that he had the honour of responding to would not have been possible a few years ago, but it was rising to importance, and would continue to grow. The progress of to-day would be as nothing to that, not of fifty years hence,—for that was a lifetime,—but of five and twenty years hence.

He returned to the same thought at the Master Cutlers' Feast at Sheffield in the following month.

It is only a few years that we have to look back when it would have been one of our very last hopes, that this great corporation, or any English corporation, would have brought forward as a distinct or separate toast that of "The Colonies." True, it was coupled in former days with shipping and commerce, but, happily, there is now a better order of things with regard to all portions of the Empire, and I think the toast of "The Colonies" may very well and properly now find place amongst those that are offered on such occasions as this. What do the Colonies consist of? Or what is the difference between now and sixty years ago? The population of the whole Empire was about 127,000,000; now it is 383,000,000. The area now is 11,500,000 of square miles, something like one fifth the area of the world. Canada alone, the Colony of which I know most, has about 3,500,000, or about one third of the whole of those 11,500,000. So that it is meet "The Colonies" should appear. It has been most gratifying to Colonists, this sixtieth year of Her Majesty's reign, to find that they have been received amongst you as brothers, as fellow-Englishmen — and I will say for Canada that we appreciate most highly and that we are grateful for the way in which our Prime Minister and those detachments which came from Canada were received into the hearts of Englishmen. And it was a great object lesson, that he who represents Canada, elected to that position by the whole of the people of the Dominion, by far the majority of whom are themselves English and English-speaking, was himself of French descent. Nothing I think could show more the solidarity and the unity of Canada than this fact, which demonstrates to our friends in Great Britain, and also I think to the nations, that no

matter what the mother tongue of the individual in the Colonies, they are one and all loyal and devoted to their Queen.

Speaking at a reception at the Canadian Camp at Bisley in this memorable summer, the High Commissioner said that while he had hoped that the Canadian Team would again carry off the coveted Queen's Prize, "as subjects of a common Sovereign, Victoria, they could all rejoice in the victory of the Victorians."

During the Jubilee proceedings the visiting soldiers of the Queen had been the recipients of marked attention. "Indeed," he went on to say, "it could not be otherwise, for although they come from various countries, widely separated, they were all one people as subjects of the Queen." Speaking for Canada, and he was sure he equally echoed the sentiment of the other Colonies, he could repeat a declaration of loyalty and devotion to the Queen and to the Empire which was one with the feelings of their fellow-subjects in the United Kingdom. While much had been said about the loyalty of the Colonies, it really was not one whit more necessary to declare it than it was on the part of their friends and relations of the Mother Country. All considered themselves equally Englishmen, and were naturally and equally devoted to the maintenance of the British Empire in its entirety.

It had been a great and distinguished year — this of the Diamond Jubilee — the year in which, it may truly be said, the British Empire found itself. No longer were the "wretched Colonies" "mill-

stones" about the neck of the Mother Country: but stalwart and loving children gathered in amity at her knee. To the old apathy and distrust there would be no return. No wonder if the jubilation was a little unbalancing for the moment — that enthusiasts for a united Empire should rush to Utopian extremes. But the sober sense of the nation recovered itself at a word spoken in season.

In the *Times* one morning appeared five stanzas entitled "Recessional." These, Lord Strathcona, in common, doubtless, with thousands of others, had cut out and committed to memory. A few days later I found them lying before him on his desk and he spoke of them. "They should," he said, "find a place in the hymnal of every Church." It was the very voice and lyre of David of Israel: —

"The tumult and the shouting dies —
The Captains and the Kings depart —
Still stands thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget — lest we forget!"

CHAPTER XXIII

THE EMIGRATION MOVEMENT

1896–1914

Our great need is people — men and women. They are required for the millions of acres of land that are given away and are only waiting to be occupied and cultivated to provide happy homes for any number of people. They are wanted also to develop more rapidly the great wealth of the country, its agriculture, its fisheries, its forests, its mines, and its manufactures. Increase of population cannot fail to add to the wealth and strength of the Empire. You will be doing good service to your country if you will help to make Canada better known whenever you may have an opportunity of doing so. Sometimes it is the custom to sneer at emigration, and at the work of those who promote it; but I think this a great error. We possess a fair proportion of the unoccupied parts of the earth most suitable for the settlement of Europeans. The opening-up of the resources of Canada, for instance, not only means a greater and cheaper food supply for those that are at home, but a sure and steadily increasing market for those manufactures which are exported in such quantities from the Mother Land, and upon which its prosperity so much depends. In fact, emigration is good for those who go, and good for those who remain behind, and certainly for those families which have an inducement to emigrate, in view of the fact that it enables them to make better

provision for their children — a desire which is paramount in the minds of most people.[1]

I propose in this chapter to glance at one or two aspects of the remarkable Canadian emigration propaganda, chiefly on the continent of Europe, whose history dates from 1896. No such propaganda, so vast, so ingenious, so insistent and dramatic had ever been attempted in history, even by the United States of America. The era of what Sir Wilfrid Laurier once so happily called Canada's "spectacular development" (1896–1913) coincides so exactly with the term of Lord Strathcona's High Commissionership, and is, moreover, so intimately connected with the policy of emigration which he fostered, that it is little surprising that an eminent Canadian public man should already refer to it as the "Strathcona period."[2]

Speaking for myself [wrote Lord Strathcona, in the early stages of this campaign], I would prefer to fill up our enormous tract of vacant lands with settlers from the British Isles. But the returning prosperity of British agriculture makes this increasingly difficult, and our lands only allow for people who may become loyal and prosperous British subjects.

In Britain and Ireland, Canada was free to make propaganda, to reach the emigrating class in any way she chose. There were no restrictions of any

[1] Lord Strathcona, *Address* at Birmingham, November, 1899.

[2] "Hereafter our development is likely to be slower and on more normal lines than those which the future historians may call the 'Strathcona period.'" (Sir George Ross, February, 1914.)

kind from Government or from the police. On the Continent, however, active hostility was evinced toward emigration from the various Governments; there was a police system which was hourly intruded into the daily lives of the people, and a whole series of laws which absolutely prohibited emigration propaganda and surrounded the mere sale of tickets to would-be emigrants with restrictions and regulations which "did not simply harass, but paralyzed."

Were not the existence of this condition notorious, it would be easy to enumerate these prohibitions and restrictions to a wearisome extent. They come, however, well within your own knowledge and experience, and it will be obvious to you that special expenditure and special lines of effort are necessitated by such conditions, even to the payment of Continental railway fare to port of embarkation and of the Canadian railway fare to destination in the North-West.[1]

Thereafter began a long struggle against the disabilities under which Canada has been placed by certain European authorities. In its propaganda Canada was served by a force of emigration agents who were paid a bonus of so much *per capita*. The difficulties which the Canadian Government alone could aid these agents to evade successfully were those difficulties eloquently indicated by the emigration laws of the various countries. Every emigrant who was induced to leave Germany, Austria, or Russia was so induced by an evasion of the

[1] Letter to the Honourable Clifford Sifton.

emigration laws prevailing in such countries, and he could, generally speaking, be secured in no other way. A Hamburg agent, for example, not only held a concession from the Hamburg Government, but also from each German State, all of which have separate regulations. He is liable at any moment to be fined by any of these States for a supposed breach of their varying regulations, such as sending a map of Canada to a man who did not actually ask for it, or who thought it prudent to deny having asked for it. These fines are frequent and range from five pounds upwards, and they naturally constitute a somewhat substantial "disability." Any action tending to increase the revenue of these agents made the fines more easy to support, and consequently Lord Strathcona was urged to increase the bonus paid to the agents.

Another suggestion was that the Government should seek to promote a movement from the Continent by paying the railway fares of emigrants to the port of embarkation. This would vary from seven to thirty shillings per head, according to distance. There was also the creation of a fund by which the Canadian railway fare from the port of debarkation to the destination on the North-West might also, and in select cases, be in part or altogether defrayed.

On the whole, it was clear that Canada must offer more advantages to the emigrants and to the agents, in view of what was being done to promote emigration from the Continent to Brazil, to the Argentine Republic, and to Chili. These embraced

free passages, free grants of land, and money advanced with which to start farming.[1]

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

8th October, 1896.

We must be careful what we do in the direction of encouraging any direct evasion of the laws in the different countries. The fact that this has been done in the past led to a rescript on the part of the Government of Hanover (through the activity of a railway agent), forbidding steamship agents to book passengers to Manitoba. The payment of the railway fares on the Continent to the ports of embarkation, and in Canada from the ports of debarkation to destination, would involve an expenditure which Parliament might hesitate to approve of, and the same remark applies

[1] It is interesting to note that in 1896, in the case of Chili, they were as follows: —

Payment of the passage from Liverpool to Chili.

Free railway transportation from port of landing to destination.

Daily advance of sixpence for every adult and threepence for every child from the day of landing to the day of arrival on land.

Provision to colonist of pair of oxen, gear for field and road, plough, wooden cart, 150 planks, and 60 pounds of nails.

Free land grant of 170 acres to the colonist and 74 acres for every son above twelve years of age.

An advance of thirty shillings per month during first year of installation.

The supply of uprooting machinery when necessary.

Free medical assistance and medicine for first two years.

The full amount to be repaid without interest, in fifths of the total amount, such repayments to begin after the expiration of three years.

These conditions were more liberal than those offered by Brazil, and perhaps by the Argentine, but even the Brazilian Government offered free passages and special advantages in regard to land and advances.

to the advancing of money to emigrants for other purposes. It would be difficult to restrict the classes of people and countries to which such concessions were given, and not only would it be open to considerable abuse, in view of the contiguity of Canada and the United States, but it might also lead to our getting into difficulties with some of the Continental Governments. This applies to the use of cars also, especially in Germany, Austria, and Russia.

What was urgently needed, in the High Commissioner's opinion, was: —

More advertising, better pamphlets, a system of carefully selected returned men; the continuance of the agent's bonus, the appointment of a travelling Government agent, closer relations with the great Continental lines and their agents, and the equalization of the rates to our North-West from American and Canadian ports.

With regard to pamphlets: —

We ought to have three distinct leaflets in German, in Swedish, in Norwegian, and in Czech and Finnish, the general matter to deal largely with the German or Scandinavian colonies in Canada, as the case may be, with letters from German, Swedish, Norwegian, or Danish settlers respectively for the pamphlet intended to be circulated in the respective countries. This leaflet should be from 24 to 36 pages, but not larger. We should want about 70,000 leaflets — 30,000 in German, 20,000 Swedish, and 20,000 Norwegian, and a few in the other languages.

A Scandinavian had recently visited the North-West under the auspices of the Department of the

Interior, and had written a report of its advantages. Lord Strathcona urged that this brochure should be printed in Norwegian and Swedish, and about 25,000 to 30,000 in each language. In addition he wrote: —

About 40,000 handbooks similar to those at present in use, but improved, would be needed — 20,000 German, 10,000 Norwegian, and 10,000 Swedish. We want some good photographs of German and Scandinavian farms in the North-West for illustrating the pamphlets. This is important. What, however, is even more important is a number of letters written by German and Scandinavian settlers, stating the places on the Continent from which they came when they arrived in Canada, their experiences and their progress, over their names and addresses in Canada.

There are free libraries in many places on the Continent the same as in England, and a quantity of the literature in question could be usefully distributed through such channels as well as through the schoolmasters.

Of course, we labour under a disadvantage on the Continent. Both Scandinavian and German emigration has been proceeding to the United States for the last fifty years. Most of the people in the different parts of the United States have friends on the Continent, with whom they are no doubt in frequent communication, and it is a well-known fact that the largest proportion of the Continental emigrants go out to join their friends. The remainder, what may be called free emigration, is comparatively small, but it is, not unnaturally, influenced by the direction in which their friends and acquaintances may go. Within the last

ten years we have had several thousands of emigrants coming within the latter description, and, in the course of time, a satisfactory nucleus will no doubt be formed, which will attract automatically further immigration. But in the mean time we must go on working, spending money in encouraging agents, in advertising, and in printing, so as to keep Canada before the people.

I may add that, on the Continent, particularly in Scandinavia, emigrants seem to prefer to travel by the fastest lines, and the newest steamers — conditions which, coupled with other circumstances, tend to restrict the direct movement to Canada.

One of the German agents expresses grave doubts as to the wisdom of our distributing pamphlets. He claims it is much better to carry on the work personally. He adds that while many of the people cannot or will not read the pamphlets, they do get into the hands of the authorities when sent through the post and thus they are informed of our endeavours to promote emigration.

There is no doubt that we must keep up the pamphlets, but they must be improved, a matter to be referred to later on. It stands to reason that if we hope to get more emigration it must be by means of education, and that can only be effected by advertisements and pamphlets of an attractive nature, written in moderate language, so as not to lay ourselves open to the charge of exaggeration, and circulated with discretion. Many of the agents, in giving me suggestions about the improvement in our methods, have an eye, no doubt, on the main chance, and hope to get something more out of it than they do at present.

There is little or no emigration from Holland, and

what there is goes to South Africa. We get a certain amount of emigration from Belgium; but it might be increased if we advertised more there and disseminated information to a greater extent than we do now.

In France we have been getting more emigrants during the last two or three years, but by the laws and regulations in force, emigration is not allowed excepting by vessels sailing from French ports. Therefore, in the past, except occasionally, when vessels have left France direct for Canada, our chance of getting emigrants has been comparatively small. They may go by way of New York and to Eastern Canada, as these rates compare favourably with those from Montreal, but to the West, as you will be aware, we labour under a disadvantage. We ought to endeavour to open up communication with the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique.

On another occasion he writes: —

With reference to the obstacles put in the way of emigration to Canada, I have many proofs that the Austrian Government, by often declining passports to intending emigrants, hinder them from leaving the country. In addition the German lines have given a guarantee to the Russian Government for all passengers arriving from Austria and Russia. This hinders the passage of such people across the frontiers, and through Prussia, unless they book with them, and as there is little connection between Germany and Canada, the agents at the frontier stations induce passengers with some success to go to other countries, for instance, the United States, South America, or South Africa, with which they have direct steam communication.

In Russia the situation is very similar, while in Germany it is difficult for a certain class of emigrants to leave the country, namely, for young men between seventeen and forty-five, who in many cases cannot get a military passport, especially if the authorities think there is some chance of the men leaving Germany forever. How dangerous it is for unlicensed agents to do business you will perhaps have heard of before, but it is even more dangerous for licensed agents when found to have persuaded any one to go out.

An arrangement has been made with the German lines in consideration of their withdrawing their competition with the British lines in Scandinavia and Finland. As a consequence the British lines are not allowed to carry more than six per cent of the emigration from the Continent (except as before mentioned), the other ninety-four per cent being retained by the German lines. If the British carry more than six per cent of the traffic, they have to make a certain payment per head to the Continental lines; and on the other hand, if they do not get six per cent, they receive a certain payment per head (at present rates it is three pounds per adult) on the number required to make up that proportion. This is the arrangement effected by the North Atlantic Conference which includes the Canadian lines. You will readily understand, therefore, that it is not in the interests of the British lines to encourage emigration from the Continent. Their agents, however, usually represent the German lines as well. As most of the vessels of the latter sail to New York, the agreement to which I have referred must operate injuriously upon emigration to Manitoba and the North-West from the Continent. It emphasizes what was mentioned in my previous letter — that we

can never hope to secure a large emigration from the Continent until we manage in some way or other to secure the coöperation of the two great German lines, the North-German Lloyd, and the Hamburg-American Steamship Company. The arrangement does not materially affect emigration to the United States, but it does operate prejudicially so far as Canada is concerned, in view of the higher inland rates from American ports to our North-West.

Of course this active propaganda instantly attracted the attention of foreign Governments. As early as the summer of 1896, the Russian Minister of the Interior, M. Yermoleff, notified several of the Provincial Governors that "signs of the coming revival of the pernicious activity of emigration agents are becoming manifest."

Inasmuch as the facts set forth denote the possibility of wholesale emigration which undermines the regular development of domestic economy, and is ruinous for the population, the Minister of the Interior requests the General Governor to take suitable measures for the suppression of the movement.

I request you, on the smallest manifestation of an emigration movement, to personally, as well as through the medium of the police organization under you, point out to the population the real position, as well as the illegality, of their leaving the Mother Country of their own accord, and especially to draw their attention to the fact that over and above irreparable material damage, criminal responsibility is set on them for deserting the Mother Country and secretly crossing the border.

Explanations and denials of false reports on emigration must be given with particular care in order not to give place to a wrong supposition that they are given in the interest of the landowners who are afraid of losing cheap labor.

It is further recommendable to carefully keep a lookout on any movement which may arise in favour of emigration and in case of a party setting out to arrest those interested and convey them back to their former place of abode.

As a preventative against the carrying-on of emigration by means of passes, certificates stating that there is no impediment to foreign travel should only be issued to taxpayers (by which every one, with the exception of the nobility and merchants, is meant) with the greatest discretion.

From a point of view proven by experience, the emigration movement is not only evoked by the agitation of foreign emigration companies, who, with the aid and assistance of local agents, issue proclamations with promises of sure subsistence and other inducements, but also through the participation in this propaganda of a certain class of individuals who speculate on easily acquiring the hastily and rashly disposed of property of the emigrants. I, therefore, request you to use all means in your power to ascertain the whereabouts of emigration agents and their abettors, supporting in any way this illegal traffic, and in accordance with paragraph 328 of the law, bring same to justice.

In case of a judicial pursuit being impossible, endeavour must be made in accordance with the rules of increased protection (Exceptional Law) and the results reported to me to enable me to bring about an admin-

istrative expulsion of the said people from the respective district.

Close watch is to be kept on those individuals who have proven their untrustworthiness through various dishonourable actions, they forming the class desirous of enriching themselves at their neighbours' cost and are always ready to place themselves at the disposition of those people engaged with the enlistment of emigrants. A special outlook should, therefore, be kept on such persons, and, on the faintest signs of an emigration movement, the Exceptional Law be brought to bear on them.

Further I request all sheriffs to make enquiries into the present sentiments of the population on emigration, examine the source of all rumours, take the necessary measures, and inform me without delay on any noteworthy features and developments.[1]

Similarly all over the Continent the High Commissioner's emigration propaganda met with severe official disfavour.

In Germany and Austria, emigration could not be directly forbidden in consequence of the free constitution and free movement law, but for want of a uniform emigration law, police instructions were issued, whereby a concession from the States must be obtained before transportation orders could be issued, and the State was empowered — if it was thought fit — to refuse the concession or withdraw a concession already granted without stating reasons. Should a concession be granted a clause was inserted whereby the holder was forbidden

[1] Confidential circular addressed to sheriffs and police officers from the office of the Governor, Secret Department, Wilna, July 3.

"to incite to emigration through publicity or distribution of printed matter, through correspondence or by oral communication with the population in any way." Information and transportation orders might be issued only on the application of persons who had decided to emigrate. Violation of these instructions was punished with a fine or imprisonment. Non-concession agents issuing transportation orders or information were punished with imprisonment.

In Austria efforts are being made to form an Emigration Law. For the present, however, an Austro-Hungarian Colonization Company has been established after the style of the German Colonization Company, and this institution has the improvement of emigration ways and means in view and the abolishment of agents as far as possible; to this effect they have been furnished by the Government with far-reaching power. We have been in touch with the leading directors of the said concern and believe in the course of time to have great influence on the working of the company.

The emigration question is: To which part the stream of emigration will turn. In Austria, as in Germany, Brazil is the centre of attraction, which country has for several years been making the utmost exertions to encourage immigration. The inconveniences which are still in the way of emigration to Brazil, particularly the want of organization and attendance which meet the new arrivers, it is hoped will be overcome by the Brazilian or the Provincial Government.

We consider it hazardous if in view of the present political state of matters in this continent, the Canadian Government should endeavour to propagate

emigration direct, by the distribution of pamphlets, etc., from abroad. It might, however, be taken into consideration whether it might not be advantageous to endeavour to get permission to establish in Germany and Austria an information bureau. The latter would, of course, only be carried on in accordance with the legal proclamation and would have the task of awaking interest with influential parties for Canada and further to dispel prejudices which may still exist in general against emigration to Canada.

There was another side to the business. Canada was dangling her bait in the deep waters of Europe: a dangerous game for the "predominant partner" as well.

Lord Salisbury to Mr. Chamberlain

FOREIGN OFFICE. [August, 1898.]

I should be the last to discourage the efforts of the Dominion of Canada to increase her population by every legitimate means; but you will understand the necessity for proceeding with the utmost caution and with reference to the emigration ordinances of the several countries concerned, otherwise it is clear that the cares and responsibilities of the Foreign Office will be vastly increased.[1]

In 1898 the German Minister for the Interior, Count Von Posadowsky Welmer, complained to

[1] "About the action of the German Government in connection with my visit—Count Hatzfeldt did mention it to Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain communicated the conversation to me. I explained the nature of my visit to the Continent which had more to do with general questions and with the steamship companies than with German emigration in particular. My explanation was regarded as entirely satisfactory." (Lord Strathcona to Sir Wilfrid Laurier.)

Sir Frank Lascelles that the Canadian propaganda was giving great offence to the Emperor and those subjects who had the interests of Germany at heart, and that it would be better for the good understanding between the two countries if means were found to check it. "Germany had need of all her present population, but if it were considered advisable for any classes or even groups to emigrate, the German Government desired to exercise an influence as to the choice of countries of their destination." The inference was plain — Canada was *non grata* to official Germany, however popular and attractive she was becoming amongst the masses of impoverished peasants.

Said a leading German newspaper, the *Hamburger Nachrichten:* —

> The arrogance of the Canadian, Lord Strathcona, and the utter disrespect shown by him for the laws of the Empire in publicly conducting his emigration propaganda on German soil and in the very teeth of the authorities, demand that vigorous representations should be made at once to the British Government, which is, we presume, still responsible for this Colony. While apart from the weakening of the Fatherland which the success of such propaganda entails, the attempt to lure our fellow-countrymen to this desolate, sub-arctic region is, upon humane grounds alone, to be denounced as criminal.

A glimpse into the practical working of the propaganda in Austria is furnished in one of Lord Strathcona's letters: —

Galician Emigrants

To the Honourable Clifford Sifton

23d March, 1898.

All the agents claim that they have been active in organizing the movement from Galicia. They say they have obtained from the people who have already emigrated, and in other ways, an immense number of addresses in the country, and that they have been in correspondence with these people for months past, sending them letters and pamphlets. They have also agents working surreptitiously for them.

Of course the law will not permit anything in the direction of encouraging emigration, and these sub-agents are generally pedlars, hawkers, and others, who are moving about the country. In that way they disseminate quietly, but effectively, quantities of literature. They have also spent considerable sums in advertising, such as the law permits. Although it is quite possible they may exaggerate their efforts, and their expenditure, there is no doubt in my mind that they have been spending both time and money in the endeavour to increase the business from Galicia. They claim in many cases that they have done more work than Professor Oleskow[1] has, and the tendency seemed to be to underestimate the position of that gentleman, although one or two of the agents admitted that he had some influence, and was able to secure an amount of publicity for Canada which they could not do. At the same time, it is only right for me to add that they all appear to have been in communication with Professor Oleskow, and to have pecuniary consideration in the event of his working through their particular agencies. Of course none of them know of our arrangement with

[1] A subsidized agent for the Canadian Government.

him, but in any case, in order to retain their business, they would not hesitate to minimize his efforts.

The greater part of the Continental business — except Scandinavian — was controlled by the North-German Lloyd Company of Bremen and the Hamburg-American Company of Hamburg. The latter company owned and controlled the Hansa line of steamers.

It stands to reason [wrote Lord Strathcona] that if both these great lines were working in Canadian interests, we should have very powerful friends at Berlin. As they would be interested strongly in emigration to Canada, they would take care as far as possible that nothing was done adverse to their interests — which in this case would be ourselves.

In February, 1898, Lord Strathcona visited Bremen and Hamburg to see what could be done in those centres. He saw the directors of the North-German Lloyd Company.

I discussed [he writes] the matter very fully with them, and asked if they would tell me, freely and frankly, why it was we had not the benefit of their coöperation in this matter. The reply was that they only ran their steamers to New York, and that the railway rates to Manitoba and the West being higher than from Quebec and Montreal, they could not compete, and consequently left the question of emigration to the North-West severely alone. Not only was this the case, but they told me distinctly that if the people came to them or their agents and wanted information about the North-West, they did their best to persuade

them to go elsewhere. So that, as I have pointed out on many occasions, the influence of this great company is really exercised against Canadian interests. I asked them, if it were possible to equalize the rates, whether they would then pursue a different policy. Their reply was in the affirmative.

In 1896 a correspondence had taken place between Herr Albert Ballin and the German Minister of the Interior, which became so acrimonious that the former did not hesitate to appeal to the Kaiser.

If [he wrote] Your Majesty agrees that the efforts of the Hamburg-American Company in the direction of a German mercantile marine are worthy of Imperial support, it is intolerable that we should be met at every hand, in our policy of securing profitable traffic, by petty official obstacles of which Your Majesty, I am convinced, has no cognizance. Thousands of licensed German and Polish emigrants are now forced to proceed from Dutch and English ports, who otherwise would embark by the steamers of this company.

In reply the Prime Minister stated that a uniform emigration law for the Empire was being prepared, making emigration increasingly difficult, and that the steamship companies' agents must restrict their propaganda exclusively to such districts as the Government indicated. "With regard to the transportation of German subjects to such British Colonies as Canada, the Ministry would not encourage it until the completion of enquiries concerning the future of such emigrants in relation to their German citizenship and the future homogeneity of

the Empire. Meanwhile, the company had a great field to draw upon in Russia and Austria and every facility would be given to make Hamburg and Bremen the great European *entrepôts* for Continental emigrants of non-German nationality."

In the annual report of the Hamburg-American Company it was stated that "in order to give an impulsion to business the cultivation of emigration is an absolute necessity." Russia was designated as the "most adaptable land for the enlistment of emigrants." Such emigrants were met at the Prussian frontier stations by the agents of the steamship company and transported direct to Hamburg.

Herr Ballin, the head of the Hamburg-American Steamship Company, was a man already of note and destined to be one of the most powerful forces in modern Germany.

Lord Strathcona to the Honourable Clifford Sifton

I had a most interesting conversation with Herr Ballin. I asked him whether there were any suggestions he had to make by which the position of Canada on the Continent could be improved. In his reply, he referred to the following matter.

Herr Ballin strongly urged that we should arrange for an agricultural delegation to be sent out from Germany to Canada. He mentioned that the Society of St. Raphael (a Catholic organization) has ramifications over the whole of Europe, and that its principal object is the dissemination of reliable information among emigrants and their welfare in the land of their adoption. What he proposes is, that the Society should be

invited to send out to Canada a commission of say four persons, two to be Catholics and two to be Protestants, who could spend a couple of months in the different Provinces of Canada, and prepare a report for the Society. He states that this report would receive wide publicity all over Germany, in the newspapers which are under the control of the Society, and he added that it might also be published in pamphlet form. As regards the expenses, the Hamburg-American Company will gladly provide passages out and home for the delegates, and there is no doubt also that the Canadian Pacific and other railways would do their share. Therefore, there is only the question of the living expenses of the delegates, and while they would be men whose opinion would carry weight, they would not, he thought, be extravagant in the matter of expenses, and probably about $1000 or $1500 would cover everything, so far as the Government is concerned. I told him the proposal appeared to me a good one, and that I would commend it to your consideration, although a similar proposal has been recommended to your predecessors on more than one occasion, and I think it is an opportunity of gaining publicity for the Dominion which we ought not to miss.

Herr Ballin some years ago suggested that the Government should have an agent at Hamburg; one who might be nominally a commercial agent, but would also keep a watch on emigration matters so far as the Dominion is concerned. Herr Ballin recommends that a German should be appointed, one who is in a good position and well known in official quarters, and that before taking up his duties he should have an opportunity of paying a visit to different parts of Canada. Your predecessor did not feel able to accept

this suggestion and the matter fell through. Herr Ballin still thinks that a Canadian agent should be appointed, but he now favors Berlin as the location instead of Hamburg, for the reason that, under the new Emigration Law, all the administrative work in connection with emigration will emanate from Berlin, instead of from the different States of the German Empire. Besides Berlin is a central place, and the different parts of Germany can readily be reached from it. Herr Ballin thinks that the British Ambassador and the German Departments should be consulted in the matter. We think that this would lead to the selection of some officials on the retired list, who would have access to all the Departments, and might thus be instrumental in smoothing over difficulties affecting Canada, make our work in regard to emigration easier than it is at present, and keep us informed of what is going on. Herr Ballin considers that such an officer need not have an office, and that his expenditure would be confined to salary and travelling expenses, which might not exceed from £500 to £600 a year.

Herr Ballin also gave me some information about the new German law in regard to emigration. It is to come into force, as you know, on the 1st of April next. Its provisions, on the face of it, do not appear to be much more stringent than those of the old Act, but its administration is expected to be much more severe. The regulations are not yet issued, and both the companies and the agents appear to be in a state of much uncertainty as to what their powers are to be in the future.

They seem to think, however, that more difficulties will be placed in their hands than hitherto. Herr

Ballin is a member of the Commission for the working of the Act. While the Bill was passing through Parliament, he stated that there appeared to be a feeling in favour of prohibiting altogether emigration to Canada. He does not think, however, that this is likely to be done, and I am of his opinion, especially in view of the fact that if such a regulation was passed, the business of the Hansa line of steamers, which is practically the Hamburg-American Company, would be done away with. That steamship company is one of the powerful operations in Germany, and I hardly think that anything so contrary to their interests would easily be carried out.

It would not be wise in the interests of Canada, Herr Ballin thought, to reduce the bonus, either on Galicians or other emigrants to Canada, at that juncture. He strongly advised that any reduction to be made should take effect from the close of the actual season, say from the 1st of September or the 1st of October, and was of the opinion that, in order to secure the continued interest of the agents, it would not be well to make too great a reduction.

I pointed out to the agents that we did not want paupers or persons without means, and that they must endeavour to send only persons who will have some money in hand after their arrival. They claimed that this had always been their policy and none would accept the responsibility of having sent out persons of the poorer classes. It was clearly stated by me that any departure from this rule might prejudice the continuance of the arrangement, and this matter should be referred to in any circular we may send out to the agents as the result of my recommendations in this letter.

While in Berlin I had a general conversation with the British Ambassador [Sir Frank Lascelles] on the subject of emigration; but the matter is not one in which Her Majesty's representatives abroad take much interest. This you can readily understand, as it is a delicate matter, and the laws are so restrictive. At the same time, however, Sir Frank Lascelles promised to keep an eye on the matter, and to communicate with me if anything came under his notice prejudicial to the Dominion and its interests.

At Vienna I also had an interview with the British Ambassador, Sir Horace Rumbold, who did not seem to know much about the work in Galicia. I discussed the matter with him, with very much the same result as happened at Berlin.

In his discussion with the steamship agents at Hamburg Lord Strathcona impressed upon them that the Canadian Government was sensible of the efforts they had been making to promote emigration to Canada, and that while a reduction in the rate of bonus then paid was being considered, there was no desire to do anything which might appear harsh or illiberal.

In fact, I tentatively mentioned that while perhaps the Government, although I could not speak with certainty, might decide to reduce the commission in the case of Galicians shortly, any general reduction on emigrants from other countries would probably not take effect until the end of the present season, say the 1st October. The agents, however, while not questioning the right of the Government to make any change, thought that it would hardly be fair to do so at the present time, just at the beginning of the season, when

the results of their winter's work and expenditure begin to appear.

Emigration from Germany had in 1898 fallen from a quarter of a million to less than fifty thousand for the year. This was attributed partly to the reports from the United States, and partly to the increased prosperity of Germany, workmen being in greater demand, and at higher wages, than they had been.

We cannot, therefore [he reported], in view of the restrictions, and from other causes, hope to get many emigrants from Germany proper at present, but we must continue our bonuses there, and encourage the steamship agents, as much as possible, to work for Canada. Now that the British lines have withdrawn from emigration work on the Continent, the business is entirely in the hands of the great Continental companies, like the North-German Lloyd and the Hamburg-American Company, and we must endeavour to arrange so as to be in much closer communication and coöperation with them than we have been in the past. I have dealt with this matter at some length in my letter on the subject of the equalization of rates from Quebec and from New York to the North-West.

While there may not be much to expect from Germany, there is likely to be a considerable movement from Austria and from Southern Russia, and from the latter place particularly we shall have several hundreds of people of the Mennonite class during the coming season. I heard of the work Mr. Klaas Peters is doing there, and trust that the result will be to increase our immigration.

In connection with emigration from Scandinavia,

we have, however, much to gain from the British New York lines by the equalization of the rates. In Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the White Star, Cunard, and American lines hold a far better position than the Canadian lines, and in Scandinavia there are few agents who represent more than one line, and we should certainly gain by a removal of the present hostility of the agents of the New York lines, which is mainly the result of the difference in the railway rates. The effect of this want of interest on the part of the New York agents has been the principal factor which has prevented a proper share of Scandinavian emigration going to Canada, notwithstanding our efforts to awaken an interest in the Dominion. Not only have they failed to help us, but wherever they could do so they have tried to influence people against Canada, and this state of things is well within the knowledge of your department.

The question of a direct and continuous transportation was a vital one.

I earnestly trust you will give it your consideration, and see whether something cannot be done to remove what, in my judgment, is a great obstacle to emigration from all parts of the Continent to Canada, and it affects our interests in the United Kingdom also, but to a more limited extent. What I should like to see would be some arrangements between the American lines and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, by which passengers could travel from New York, Boston, or Philadelphia to the nearest point on the Canadian Pacific Railway and thence to the West by our own transcontinental line. It may be that an additional payment of some kind might be involved, but I venture

to think that some means might be found of arranging the matter as between the Government and the railway, in view of its importance.

In a letter to the Ministry, written in June, 1899, he stated: —

I am glad to say that foreign immigration to Canada is growing. According to all accounts the Galicians are doing well, and will eventually make excellent settlers. The Doukhobors also create an excellent impression, and their work in Southern Russia, under great disadvantages, indicates that they possess the qualities which are necessary to success in the Canadian North-West. We have not had so many Germans and Scandinavians as we would like. This arises from the fact that the Governments of the countries in question are opposed to emigration, which makes it as difficult as possible, apart from the fact that the people of those countries are enjoying an era of prosperity at the present time. The success of the Continental settlers in the different parts of Canada is sure to have its effect.

So much for the Continental emigration. In the United Kingdom his zeal was even greater.

The efforts of Sir Donald Smith [wrote a leading Canadian journal] to enlighten the public on the other side as to the class of immigrants desired in Canada are bearing fruit. Instead of stunted, pale-faced creatures, the products of the streets of large cities, who never saw a tree or cow in their lives, of whom we have had far too many samples in the past, most of the immigrants this season, so far, are splendid specimens of the farm-labourer class. There is also noticeable a considerable sprinkling of the better class of

farmers, men with means to invest; but chiefly there is knowledge of the conditions which await them, and fitness for meeting them. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company has always been labouring in this direction, and it is to the credit of the societies in England that they have latterly made the most rigid investigation into the capabilities and character of the intending emigrants before they have sanctioned their coming out. The magic-lantern exhibitions which were got up by Sir Donald Smith, showing the Dominion as an agricultural country, which needed chiefly brawn and muscle and the knowledge of crops and cattle, brought home to the people in a vivid and effectual way the situation which had to be confronted. There was everything encouraging in this, particularly when the pictures were supplemented with the exhibition of the cereals and roots indigenous to the several Provinces. It is noticeable in the bodies of emigrants thus far landed and distributed this season that a considerable proportion were destined for British Columbia. Such persons are to be distinguished from the labouring class. They are persons with small means, who, having heard of the wonderful wealth of this comparatively new Province, have pulled up stakes in the hope of making sudden fortune. Whether such — disappointed, for the most part, as must be the inevitable experience — will settle down to sober pursuits, of which the reward will be slow, but probably sure in the end, remains to be seen. At any rate, the British, though they have been slow to waken up, are evidently not going to let the Americans get all the precious metal out of the mines which are springing up, mushroom-like, in all directions.[1]

[1] Montreal *Witness*, May 5, 1897.

On another occasion, addressing an audience at the Imperial Institute, Lord Strathcona said: —

There are one or two thoughts I wish to submit to you as likely to have an important bearing on the commercial relations between Canada and the Mother Country. As already mentioned, Canada has a population of about 5,500,000 at the present time. There is no reason to doubt that, without over-crowding, there is room for 50,000,000 to 1,000,000,000. People have been going in more rapidly recently than in some of the preceding years. While we welcome every one who is prepared to adapt himself to the country, it is perhaps a matter of regret to us that our fellow-subjects in Great Britain do not come in larger numbers. A considerable area of our free-grant land is being taken up by settlers from the different countries of Europe. Perhaps it is that those at home are more prosperous than those who come to us from the Continent. No doubt that children of the latter, in the second and third generations, will become as good and loyal British subjects as any of us; but we know that there are many people in these isles who would much benefit themselves and their families by going to Canada, and we cannot understand why it is that they do not avail themselves of the opportunity. As I have already pointed out, this is a matter of as much importance to you as to us, for the more people we have the larger will be the market for your products and manufactures, and the increase in the population also means an increase in the wealth and strength of the British Empire.

This question of emigration does not receive nearly the attention its importance deserves. It means so much from whatever point of view it is regarded, and

it has an important bearing on Imperial commercial relations.[1]

He recommended the revival of the Canadian "exhibition cars" which, after a brief trial, had been discontinued. These soon became a feature of the British countryside.

Anything that tends to popularize Canada, and to familiarize the public with the country and its products is worthy of support. This particular system of advertising might be continued and extended. If at any time it was thought by the Government that the vans might with advantage visit particular localities it could, of course, easily be arranged.

At the present time [he reported] we are in correspondence with two to three thousand schoolmasters. Several thousands of our large maps of Canada are hung upon the walls of the schools. These maps are used in connection with the lessons. A large number of our pamphlets are also being used as ordinary readers in the schools, and as the children take the books home, Canada is thus introduced into many homes in which it might not otherwise become known. I find that many schoolmasters have a practical as well as theoretical knowledge of Canada, and our lantern slides on Canadian scenery are much asked for by such persons.

About fifteen hundred lectures on Canada were delivered during the autumn, winter, and spring. The Canadian Pacific Railway had initiated a series of animated photographs of Canada, its scenery, and its industries.

[1] *Address*, November 30, 1899.

An Audacious Scheme

In referring to the limited field in the United Kingdom from which to draw emigrants, Lord Strathcona observed: —

We only encourage persons with capital, farmers, farm labourers, and domestic servants. I have explained the difficulties that tend to prevent immigration of this class on as large a scale as we would like, and a good deal of our effort is now directed to preventing undesirable immigration. Although our enquiry is very large, both personally and by correspondence, the greater portion of it comes from people who have no means to emigrate. Capitalists and farmers are slow to emigrate in any case, and the other classes are doing better than at any previous time, and, except among some of the younger members of the families, there is not enough enterprise and that disposition to look ahead which so often leads to emigration. Still, we are getting good results from our work, and I am very hopeful that our immigration will continue to grow in the future.

Of the innumerable plans and projects, so often fantastic, suggested by immigration agents and officials during these early years of his High Commissionership, there was one of which I once heard him say that its audacity took his breath away. The originator postulated that Scandinavian emigration to Canada was eminently desirable. A fleet of vessels was to be chartered, each equipped and provisioned for a long voyage, having on board a vigorous lecturer (of the "revivalist" pattern) and a brass band. On a suitable date — a Sunday — the ships were each to put into different Scan-

dinavian ports on some pretext or other. The populace was to be summoned, the band was to play "The Maple Leaf Forever," and other inspiring melodies, the lecturer was to harangue the crowd on the attractions of the Canadian North-West, and finally to deliver an impassioned exhortation to the following effect: —

> Men and women! material salvation awaits you. Canada, the land of promise, opens its arms to receive you! Your fellow-Norwegians, already there basking in prosperity and happiness, call across the Atlantic to you! Delay is fatal. Now is the accepted time. Yonder good ship sails to-morrow. Passage money is not needed — come forward and enroll your names and sail with us to Canada and fortune.

The ingenious author of this happy scheme — whose methods were partly borrowed from the Salvation Army and the recruiting sergeant — was greatly discomfited when Lord Strathcona declined to consider it seriously.

"You are," it was bitterly complained, "throwing away the chance of getting ten thousand able-bodied Norwegians on the spot."

No mention was made of the probable attitude of the Norwegian Government. "I have no doubt he designed that the Norwegian Government should follow the entire Norwegian population to Canada, too," was Lord Strathcona's comment.

At a later stage, in 1905–06, came the exploits of the notorious North-Atlantic Trading Company, which entered into a contract with the Canadian

Government to supply emigrants to Canada at a fixed bonus *per capita*. The class of emigrants secured through this channel showed distinct deterioration, being recruited from amongst the least desirable of European races. What Lord Strathcona himself thought of the new arrangement may be gathered from a letter to the Prime Minister in which he reviews the work of the preceding years.

Previously he had written to Sir Wilfrid Laurier in reference to a statement in the *Globe* newspaper, disclaiming having opened negotiations with the North-Atlantic Trading Company, and "stating that its suggestions never commended themselves to my better judgment." He had yielded and had given such assistance as he could, because the Department of the Interior strongly favoured the plan. In view of the fears he had entertained, he had the matter submitted to counsel for an opinion. "I had no connection at all," wrote Lord Strathcona, "with the negotiations, the Department of the Interior having placed itself in direct communication with the company. While personally opposed, however, I desired to carry out the policy of the Department."

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

12th May, 1906.

From the time of my appointment as High Commissioner I was, as you are aware, very much impressed with the necessity for an active emigration propaganda, both on the Continent and in the United Kingdom, as my frequent despatches and many

recommendations to the Minister of the Interior will show.

In the interests of the work, I visited Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin, Vienna, and Paris. It was very evident to me, at that time, as the result of my enquiries, that our preparations, and the coöperation we were receiving on the Continent, would inevitably result, in the near future, in a large emigration to the North-West.

My principal reason for not favouring a hard-and-fast contract with any body of individuals, like the North-Atlantic Trading Company, was the fear that it might land us in difficulties with some of the Governments concerned. There was also the consideration that they would obtain the advantage, without any great expense or effort to themselves, of the movement which was bound shortly to take place, as the result of our continuous educational work with the various agencies on the Continent. My idea was that the agents who had been working on our behalf should themselves participate in the bonuses; and that we should endeavour also to secure the coöperation of the large Continental steamship companies, which it would not have been difficult to arrange, judging from my interviews with the North-German Lloyd directors and Herr Ballin, of the Hamburg-American line, — gentlemen of great influence on the Continent, — as reported in my letters before referred to. Of course it would have been possible to gradually lessen the bonus payments as the emigration increased — the increase being the natural consequence of the work that was being done, and of the successful settlement of the people who were going out from year to year.

I do not wish to minimize in any way the energy shown by the Department of the Interior in the pro-

motion of emigration. They have certainly been alive to the importance of the question within the last seven or eight years, and have not hesitated to incur increased expenditure on the work, which I may say was recommended for many years before it was adopted. They are, therefore, entitled to credit for the increase in the emigration that has taken place; but it must not be forgotten that the continuous and effective work which had been going on for some years, in adverse circumstances, both here and on the Continent, had prepared the way for the larger movement that set in when the proper time arrived.

Briefly, therefore, I will conclude by saying that I am and always have been in favour of a vigorous emigration policy on the Continent, in the United Kingdom, and in the United States. At the same time, however, I did not view the arrangement with the North-Atlantic Trading Company with any personal favour for the reasons stated above; and I am inclined to the opinion that the emigration which has taken place would have been at least as large in ordinary circumstances, under the arrangements in force prior to 1899.

I am sure you will understand that, in writing this letter, I only wish to make my own position clear, and that I have no desire whatever to reflect in any way, either upon the Department of the Interior or its officers, in connection with the arrangements made between the Government and the company.[1]

[1] "The Government agreed to pay the company £1 for each man, woman, and child of the agricultural class brought to Canada and for each girl of eighteen years of age or over of the domestic service class. It was provided that in no one year should the Government be called upon to pay a bonus on more than five thousand Poles, Galicians, and Bukowinians. The Government gave special aid to

All through his eighteen years of office we find Lord Strathcona going up and down the land preaching from the same text, and posterity will bear witness that he was not heard in vain.[1]

The disadvantages we suffer from at the present time are a superabundance of land and a comparatively small population. Both of these are only temporary. When we get the people the territory can accommodate, and the millions and millions of acres of vacant land are occupied and utilized, Canada will be a country which my powers of imagination do not permit me to picture. Just fancy a territory nearly as large as Europe, with a population no greater than that of London! That is the position just now.

Naturally, the latter circumstance limits our capac-

encourage the operations in Norway, Sweden, and Finland. The company carried on their work actively. In 1906, however, the Minister of the Interior claimed that the company was devoting too much attention to the Southern and Eastern countries, and too little to the Northern countries. This, he held was in violation of the agreement, and the Government gave notice terminating the contract. This is the only case in which the Government has 'farmed out,' so to speak, its Immigration propaganda." (W. D. Scott, *Canada and its Provinces.*)

[1] "In the whole period from 1897 to 1912, the total immigration was over two and a quarter millions; the British Isles sent 961,000, the United States 784,000, and the rest of the world 594,000. The total increase in population in this period was marked; between 1891 and 1901 population grew from 4,833,239 to 5,371,315, and in the following decade to 7,204,838, practically double the population of forty years before. The number of British immigrants rose from an average of 10,000 in the last years of the nineteenth century to 50,000 in 1904, and 138,000 in 1912. At the end of this period Canada had become the chief destination of emigrants from the United Kingdom, far surpassing the United States, though Australia, imitating the Canadian policy of publicity and offering liberal reduced or advanced passages, was again becoming a close rival." (O. D. Skelton, *Canada and its Provinces.*)

ity as a consuming population; but at the same time, in conjunction with the area of the country, it serves to give an indication of the extent of the market that awaits the British manufacturer if the Mother Country will only help us in the endeavour we are making to attract population to till our lands, and to develop the great resources with which Providence has endowed us.

They say [he wrote to Mr. Chamberlain in June, 1899] that we are draining Great Britain of her best blood in order to build up and strengthen the Colonies. But I venture to express my conviction that the strength of the Colonies is Great Britain's strength, and that if ever the need should arise, these same young men will return with their patriotism increased and invigorated rather than weakened, to give their help to the Mother Country.

Whether this prophecy be true or false let a dozen bloodstained battlefields in France and Belgium make answer.

"From Sydney to Esquimault, from the Lakes to Hudson Bay;
Men who never saw you, Mother, those that left you yesterday;
From the prairies and the backwoods, be the struggle brief or long,
We are coming, Mother England, two hundred thousand strong!"

CHAPTER XXIV

"STRATHCONA'S HORSE"

1898–1900

LORD STRATHCONA'S primal effort as a legislator in the House of Lords awakened much interest both in Britain and in Canada. In deference to the wishes of many leading colonists in London, the High Commissioner undertook to bring forward the Bill for legalizing in the United Kingdom marriages in the Colonies with a deceased wife's sister.

It is hardly surprising to learn now, on the authority of the late Duke of Argyll, that this incursion into ecclesiastical law and ordinance did not meet with the approval of Queen Victoria. Her Majesty is said to have remarked bluntly that she thought "his Labrador lordship should be the last to meddle in these matters." The royal innuendo merely illustrated the persistence of the legend concerning Lord Strathcona's own marriage, whose falsity and injustice both the Duke and Mr. Chamberlain had already endeavoured to expose. Something shrewder was the Queen's further remark that she was sure Lord Strathcona had not consulted Lady Strathcona in his choice of a subject for debate.

Colonial Marriages Bill

From Lord Strathcona

7th April, 1898.

My dear Sir Wilfrid Laurier: —

As you are no doubt aware, the question of legalizing marriages with a deceased wife's sister is a matter that is brought every year before the Imperial Parliament. So far, while the measure has on one or two occasions passed the House of Lords, it has not become law.

Within the last few years an endeavour has also been made to legalize in this country marriages of this kind which have been contracted in the Colonies under local legislation; but no Act dealing with this part of the question has yet been passed.

The matter as regards the Colonial marriages is now up again for consideration, and I have been asked by the Marriage Law Reform Association to introduce a Bill on the subject into the House of Lords. The matter is, I believe, generally approved of in the other Colonies, but having regard to my position as High Commissioner, I rather hesitate to comply with the request that has been made to me without first submitting it to you and knowing your views. If you see no objection to my doing so, I shall be quite prepared to introduce such a Bill; but if you think it would be better for me not to do so, I shall merely confine myself to supporting such a measure in the House in a general way, and by voting in favour of it.

Kindly write me on the subject at your early convenience, and believe me, etc.,

Strathcona.

It was reported at the time that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, dreading clerical criticism, strongly deprecated the intention of the High Commissioner. How

much truth there was in the report may be gleaned from the following cable message, despatched on the day the Premier received the foregoing letter.

To Lord Strathcona

OTTAWA, 22d April, 1898.

Your letter received about Colonial Marriages Bill. There is no objection to your presenting it. On the contrary, I think it quite proper for you to do so.

LAURIER.

The presence of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York,[1] both of whom had taken the keenest interest in the question of marriage law reform, gave special interest to the sitting of the House of Lords on July 8, when Lord Strathcona moved the second reading of the Colonial Marriages Bill. The object was stated to be "to make valid, in the United Kingdom, marriages legally contracted with a deceased wife's sister by domiciled residents in the British Colonies, and in dependencies, under legal enactments sanctioned by the Crown."

The case which Lord Strathcona presented to the House of Lords seemed an almost overwhelming one. The bill, it may be said in passing, was confined to the legalization of marriages with the deceased wife's sister. Marriages with a brother's widow or wife's niece were left untouched, and the Bill concerned itself alone with that of the debated question — marriage with the deceased wife's sister — upon which both Houses of the Imperial

[1] King George V.

Parliament had expressed favourable verdicts. In the House of Lords in 1896 the majority in favour of the Bill was 38, and the opposition might now be said to be confined to the extreme ritualistic clergy, though it was clearly an anomaly and an injustice that even in marriages made valid in Colonies whose legislation had been revised and sanctioned by the law officers of the Crown in Britain, a Colonial married lady should, on landing at Liverpool, become a mistress, and be under the ban of society. Here it may be noticed that by inadvertence the Bill was framed in broader terms than was intended. As drawn, marriages solemnized between persons temporarily visiting a Colony would come within the provisions of the bill. As the remedy provided by the Bill was sought only on behalf of domiciled Colonists, Lord Strathcona consented to the insertion of words which would limit the operation of the Bill to marriages effected by such persons.

He had very great diffidence [he began], in addressing their Lordships.

This is the first occasion on which I have had the honour and privilege of being present as a member of your Lordship's House. I am confident, however, that your Lordships will extend to me that indulgence which is always given to a new member.

The Bill which I have to introduce has for its object the legalizing in the United Kingdom of marriages lawfully contracted between a man and his deceased wife's sister in any of the British Colonies. It is intended to deal only with the marriages of legally domiciled residents, and, in order to remove any doubts there might

be on that point, amendments would be moved in Committee, if the Bill is read a second time, to make that absolutely clear. The Bill is also provided with other safeguards to prevent its provisions from being abused. Marriages with a deceased wife's sister have been legalized in the Colonies with the active consent of the Crown and with the tacit approval of the Government and of the Imperial Parliament, but, in spite of that fact, the children of such legal Colonial marriages were regarded in the United Kingdom as illegitimate, and could not succeed to real property in this country. It is believed, too, that they might be liable to other disabilities, and it was to remove this stain from the children who had been born in wedlock rendered lawful by laws passed by the Colonial Legislature and approved by the responsible advisers of the Crown that the Bill had been introduced.

Marriage with a deceased wife's sister is not legal in the United Kingdom, and the question does not, therefore, arise in the same way; but such marriages are legal in the Colonies. Why should the children of such marriages, when they come home to the Mother Country, bear the mark of illegitimacy? Such a Bill as this, if it were passed, would be an act of justice to many and would be an injustice to no one.

Representing the Colonies, and speaking with a knowledge of what I say, every man in the Colonies looks upon himself as an Englishman just as much as if he had been born in the United Kingdom; he glories in the name of Englishman, and he has all the aspirations of one and the same loyalty and devotion to our Empire. As the Colonists feel that they are equally members of the great Empire to which all Englishmen belong, I hope your Lordships will send a message of good-will to

those for whom I plead, a message which will be appreciated throughout the Colonies; and show them that your Lordships have as much consideration for those in the Colonies, for whom I speak, as for those in the Mother Country; that you desire to do justice to all.

Notwithstanding that the bill was carried by a majority of 129 to 46, the Government refused to take it up in the House of Commons. Some years were destined to elapse before the measure became law.

Meanwhile, many other affairs claimed the High Commissioner's attention. In the summer of 1898 a Joint Conference between Britain and America to decide outstanding disputes was decided upon and there was much difficulty about the choice of delegates. But before the matter was settled Canada's thirty-first birthday came and went. Rarely, if ever, had there been such a gathering of influential Canadians and friends of the Dominion as assembled to dinner at the Imperial Institute. Amongst those who supported Lord Strathcona was the Duke of Norfolk, British Postmaster-General, whose valuable assistance as the head of the English Roman Catholics had been invoked in the Manitoba Schools settlement.

In proposing the toast of the evening, Lord Strathcona said: —

I think all Canadians will agree with me that we have one day we can call our own, one on which we can gather together and show that while true Britons and devoted subjects of Her Majesty, we are none the less citizens of the Dominion. We are not a foreign nation,

— but a kindred nation with Britain, — members of the great Empire, as are those within the United Kingdom. The advance of Canada within the last sixty years, and especially since Confederation, has been great, both in the development and extent of her resources and in her financial position. We have cause to be proud of it.

Lord Strathcona congratulated the Australian Colonies on being within measurable distance of federal union, knowing what great benefits federation had brought to Canada. He had similar hopes for South Africa, and trusted that the West Indies themselves might in future become a British commonwealth. In the past few years Canada had been able to secure the denunciation of commercial treaties which stood in the way of a closer alliance between the Colonies. He could not see why any foreign nation should take exception to this piece of domestic legislation. One foreign country proposed to exempt Canada on this account from most-favoured-nation treatment. Canada, with such support as she could always reckon on, would be able to protect her own interests, for she would always act with moderation.

It is also very pleasant to find better relations between the United States and Canada. We pray very fervently, all of us, that the newly appointed High Commission will give full satisfaction to each and all of us in the difficulties they are going to deal with. You will all be glad to find that we have amongst us this evening Lord Herschell. With such representatives as Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Mr. Charlton, and Lord

Herschell, we may have confidence that the proper interests of Great Britain and of Canada will be well looked after.

We do not wish to stand at arm's length with our neighbours. We desire to be on the most friendly terms possible with them, and it would appear that that desire is heartily reciprocated. Still, we wish to continue as one people with the Mother Country, and do our part in that great Empire of which we are all so proud.

On this occasion the Chairman's health was proposed by the veteran Canadian statesman, Sir Charles Tupper.

After Confederation took place [said Sir Charles] a great impassable desert separated Ottawa from the great North-West, and it was impossible to reach one from the other except by traversing foreign soil. All this had now been changed, and that it had been so, was largely due to the great financial qualities of Lord Strathcona. To his energy, ability, and indomitable perseverance the bringing together of the isolated Provinces was in no small measure due. Montreal to-day possessed admirably equipped hospitals, due to the princely generosity of Lord Strathcona and Lord Mount Stephen. No man in Canada possessed to-day the confidence of all classes to such an extent.

On the 25th, Mr. Chamberlain wrote Lord Strathcona that the Queen had approved the appointment of the Earl of Minto to succeed Lord Aberdeen.

I feel sure that Lord Minto will receive from you that loyal support always given to the representative of the

Queen, and I am convinced that the new Governor-General will carry to Canada the most anxious desire to do everything in his power for the welfare of the Dominion.

On cabling the news to the Premier Lord Strathcona received the following reply: —

From Sir Wilfrid Laurier

26th July, 1898.

Minto's appointment will be well received, especially as he has already served in this country. Personally it will be a pleasure for me to give him every assistance. You can assure Mr. Chamberlain of this.

At the launching at Wallsend of the *Mount Royal*, so named out of compliment to Lady Strathcona who performed the ceremony, the High Commissioner said: —

I do not care to speak any longer of Canada, and the other countries constituting the Empire, as Colonies. They are constituents of an Empire one and indivisible. They are English quite as much as is Great Britain, and to remain so to all time is the desire of Canada and all the other possessions of the Empire. Though we have in Canada a portion of the population who had not originally come from Great Britain, I can say without hesitation that they are just as good and loyal British subjects as ourselves. They are Englishmen only with one difference, — that they speak French as well as English. That circumstance is a source of safety in Canada, and one which contributes to the safety of the whole Empire.

Bristol Celebrations

A long-deferred memorial to the sixteenth-century discoverers, John and Sebastian Cabot, was unveiled at Bristol in September, in which the Marquess of Dufferin took a prominent part.

The people of Canada [Lord Strathcona assured his hearers] are entirely with those of Bristol in doing honour to that great navigator who was the first to place foot on Newfoundland and on the northern portion of the Western Hemisphere, and thereby made it possible that there should be colonization of America by Englishmen.

How much has since happened, how much has been done even within the period of the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty, by the citizens of Bristol in bringing nearer our two countries. It is just sixty years ago that the citizens of Bristol sent out the first steamer to cross the Atlantic, the *Great Western*. That marks an era in steamboat navigation, which has grown since then, until we have in the present day those floating palaces in which discomfort has all but disappeared from the sea. We must not forget that the people of Bristol were the pioneers of this great work — that at a time when scientific men, and among them that man who was one of the foremost in science at that time, Dr. Lardner, said that it was an impossibility for a steamer to cross the Atlantic, to carry coal and to carry passengers at the same time; you showed the road and since then it has been well followed.

The message from the citizens of Halifax shows what is thought of Lord Dufferin throughout the whole Dominion of Canada. His great services there were appreciated, I can assure you; in Lord and Lady Dufferin we had in Canada those who were respected as highly as any Governor-General and his consort could

be. It gives me great pleasure to join in the vote of thanks to Lord Dufferin for his services in laying the foundation stone of this fine tower, placed in a position commanding the whole of Bristol, and of which the people of Bristol may well be proud.

In November, 1898, Lord Strathcona himself again crossed the Atlantic for Ottawa, to discuss with the Government the questions of immigration, the Pacific cable, the fast steamship service, and other kindred matters. While there on one occasion he said:—

The Hispano-American war has given occasion for an expression of the feeling existing for America in British hearts, and the sympathy and friendship which the British Government and people have shown toward the American cause may be taken as a strong underlying and lasting feeling of the people of the same blood.

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

MONTREAL, 10th December, 1898.

Immediately on my return to Montreal, I called on Sir William Van Horne and explained to him your views with regard to the bonding privilege question.

He appears to be entirely opposed to an International Commission for dealing with the matter. Mr. Shaughnessy is equally opposed to such a commission, although to me it appeared, when the proposition was discussed when I met yourself and your colleagues at the Joint Commission at Washington, that it was one which might be expected to work equitably and fairly for both parties. In this I must, however, defer to the

opinion of those who, like the President and Vice-President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, have had great experience in the working of arbitration boards, and they are evidently concerned at the prospect of having any such International Court.

The Anglo-American Commission sat both at Quebec and Washington; but it soon became clear that no decision could be arrived at just then concerning the chief matters in dispute.

Lord Strathcona to Sir Wilfrid Laurier

April 15th, 1899.

When discussing with Mr. Chamberlain, some little time back, the question of placing Canadian Government securities on the same footing as those of the United Kingdom in respect of trust investments, he suggested the possibility of an arrangement being come to between the two Governments by which, on the conversion of the Canadian loans, they might in a sense be "taken over" by England, that is, that the new issue should be guaranteed by the Imperial Government. With this guarantee the money could, of course, be obtained on much more favourable terms, the saving on interest being not less than from one half to three quarters per cent. His idea was that in consideration of this, Canada would devote a portion of the saving to Imperial purposes. He was very particular in impressing upon me that this was partly a personal idea of his own, wholly deprived of anything of an official character, and it was in that sense I told him I would bring the matter confidentially to your notice.

Of course, it is one of those things which, if thought

worthy of further notice at all, would demand the gravest consideration both in Canada and here, and perhaps you will kindly at your convenience let me know if you think it worth while discussing the matter further.

You appear to be having long speeches from Sir Charles Tupper and his friends in the House, but let us hope that this is not an indication of a long session.

Lord Strathcona's sojourn in Montreal was rendered memorable not only by his further munificence to McGill University, but also by a brilliant social function in honour of the new Governor-General.

It had five years previously fallen to Lord Strathcona to afford Lord and Lady Aberdeen their first formal introduction to Montreal society. By a happy coincidence the same duty was again discharged in the case of Lord and Lady Minto. The dinner and reception given by the High Commissioner and Lady Strathcona at their Montreal mansion in honour of the new Governor-General was a most successful and brilliant function.

We have entered upon a course of prosperity which, I believe, will bear us on for many years, and it is well that we should know and feel that this is not dependent on one political party or another, but that it results in great measure from the good government we receive from any party which may be in power. As to the needs of the hour: We have been looking for some time for a faster Atlantic service. We hoped to have had it by this time. But our efforts have not been in vain. Preparations have been made for it, and I myself have

every confidence that it is a comparatively short time when we shall have much better communication across the Atlantic. As to the West Indies, it is gratifying that greater facilities had been provided for direct intercourse with the Dominion not only by steamers, but also by cable; while as to the Pacific Cable, I hope it will not be long before this is an accomplished fact. We are looking, too, with great expectations and every hope that we shall be able in a very short time to congratulate our fellow-colonists in the South on becoming a Dominion, and that they will, as a nation, attain to even greater prosperity.

Early in the summer of 1899 there began to loom up in the distance the shadow of serious trouble in South Africa. From the first, Lord Strathcona took the deepest interest in the question. Once he said to Mr. Chamberlain: —

There is a curious resemblance in many respects to the events of 1869. Kruger, like Riel, has a complete misunderstanding of his position. I believe that if there was any one in South Africa that both parties and races could trust, war might be averted.

While the negotiations between Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Milner, and President Kruger were in progress and the question, raised by the Uitlanders, of the Parliamentary representation of rapidly increasing populations was being agitated, in Canada the Laurier Ministry brought in a fresh Redistribution Bill. Promptly the accusation of "gerrymandering" was launched against them. As the charge obtained much currency in the English press, Lord Strathcona sent for Miss Flora Shaw (Lady

Lugard), then Colonial editor of the *Times*, in order to explain to her the character of and the necessity for the Act. Canada, like the Transvaal, was face to face with a difficulty common to all new countries, namely, that important interests might at any moment spring up in desert places.

This difficulty was one with which the Canadian statesmen who carried through the work of federation foresaw that Canada as a Dominion would have to deal. Consequently, provision was, under their inspiration, made for meeting it in the Constitution accorded by the British North American Act to the federated Provinces. But in acting upon the provision, each successive Canadian Government of necessity exposes itself to the accusation of "gerrymandering" the constituencies in order to acquire for its own supporters the largest possible amount of Parliamentary representation. The accusation was therefore very freely made against the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues in reference to their new Redistribution Bill which was now before the Dominion parliament. On behalf of the Government Lord Strathcona indignantly rebutted the accusation. All their principal platform utterances, since the passing of the Conservative Redistribution Acts of 1882 and 1892, demonstrated that the Bill they had introduced was simply a measure of retributive justice to constituencies shamelessly "gerrymandered" by previous Governments.

There is nothing upon which it is more difficult to form a just opinion at a distance than the operative

effect of a Parliamentary Redistribution Bill. The claim of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government, that in introducing the present measure they do but redeem their reiterated election pledges, is one which can, however, be verified by a reference to the party programme which has been before the country since the meeting of the Liberal Convention at Ottawa in 1893; and the unconscious admission of the nature of the Conservative Redistribution Acts which was made by Sir Charles Tupper, when, in the course of a speech attacking the present measure, he argued that if the Bill of 1882 had not been passed in the form in which it was passed, Canada would have lost some of the most valuable developments of Conservative policy by which the country has benefited since that date, goes, it must be confessed, some way toward proving that, from the point of view of local politics, there was justification for the pledges of the Liberal leaders to carry through a scheme of readjustment whenever the power to do so should be theirs.[1]

A few days earlier (July 14) Mr. Chamberlain wrote to Lord Strathcona that he had just been informed by Lord Windsor that a mutual friend had had an interview with Sir Wilfrid Laurier at Ottawa.

Sir Wilfrid has authorized him to say that he will at once introduce into the Dominion Parliament a resolution supporting the maintenance of Imperial supremacy throughout South Africa, provided I intimate through you that such a resolution would be welcomed.

If Sir Wilfrid Laurier is correctly reported, I hasten to say that such a resolution of sympathy and support

[1] *The Times*, July 19, 1899.

as he suggests would be most cordially welcomed by Her Majesty's Government.

The High Commissioner cabled instantly to the Premier, but for some reason or other no reply came until the 24th.

From Sir Wilfrid Laurier

24th July, 1899.

I have your favour of the 15th instant, repeating your telegram of the same day about the resolution of sympathy which we were asked to move on the Uitlanders question. Mr. Allan had no authority from me to wire as he did, though we are considering at this moment if it would be advisable for us to introduce such a resolution in the House of Commons.

In the interval Mr. Chamberlain had been growing anxious. A stage in the correspondence with President Kruger had been reached when Canada's expression would be of signal value. An interview with Lord Strathcona on the 26th of July was followed by a letter next day, the date of the sending by the Colonial Secretary of an ultimatum to President Kruger.

Colonial Office, 27th July, 1899.

Dear Lord Strathcona: —

Although I fully appreciate the difficulties of your Premier's position, I hope he will not find them insuperable.

How greatly it would strengthen the hands of Her Majesty's Government at this critical time if Canada's moral support for our policy were announced, I need

not urge to you. An unspoken declaration might go far to alter the situation. The opinion of a great self-governing Dominion, such as yours, whose leader is not of British origin, could hardly fail to impress powerfully the gentlemen of the Volksraad and persuade them to adopt a more reasonable view of their position and ours. It might have the further useful effect of checking some of that sympathy and encouragement which the Boers are receiving from many in the United States, who are, I gather, wretchedly informed as to the merits of the present dispute.

I shall hope to hear the moment intelligence reaches you. Believe me,

Yours most sincerely,

J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Intelligence of a favourable character reached the High Commissioner in a few days, which he immediately conveyed to Mr. Chamberlain.

From Mr. Chamberlain

I did not receive your private letter of the 30th July till my return from the House last night.

I am very much obliged to you for your action in the matter, and see the result in the papers this morning with the greatest possible satisfaction. I consider that the action of the Dominion marks a distinct stage in the history of Imperial relations.

With deep anxiety did Lord Strathcona watch the events — by no means favourable for British arms — which marked the beginning of the war in South Africa. Much as he desired to see Canada's

active participation in the struggle, he felt that it would be in the highest degree improper for him to attempt, by word or act, to force the Canadian Prime Minister's hand. He realized that this war was different in strategic character from most of those which had gone before — that the Boers resembled Red Indians in their slyness, ruthlessness, and fondness for ambuscade, and consequently that fighters of the type of the Mounted Police of the Canadian Prairies would be more of a match for them than the sedulously drilled infantrymen of the English pattern. The idea grew upon him and was fostered by the letters and public utterances of several Canadian friends, who had great faith in the peculiar merit of Colonial troops. Chief amongst these was Colonel Samuel Hughes, M.P.,[1] an Ontarian militia officer, who took his military duties seriously and who strove on all occasions to imbue his comrades-in-arms and his colleagues in the House of Commons with his own ardent Imperialism.

Meanwhile, early in November, Sir Edward Grey's retirement from the contest for the Lord Rectorship of Aberdeen left the way free for Lord Strathcona's unanimous election to the office. After the nomination the students had a procession, which came into contact with the police, who drew their batons. To his deep concern several students were injured and some arrests were made.

[1] Lord Strathcona used to enjoy hugely Colonel Hughes's alleged reason for dropping the "uel" from his baptismal name: "I got so tired of explaining that I was an Orangeman and not a 'U.E.L.' (United Empire Loyalist) by descent that I decided to 'cut it out.'"

Lord Rector of Aberdeen

In the course of a leading article, the *Daily News* observed: —

The new Lord Rector of Aberdeen may fairly be called the Grand Old Man of the Colonies. Lord Strathcona is seventy-nine, but he is still High Commissioner for Canada, Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, President of the Bank of Montreal, and a Director of the Canadian Pacific Railway. No man is better able to trace the history of the Dominion, now more than thirty years old, and to explain the rather complicated system of Federalism which has been carried out there with conspicuous success. He may remember the beautiful Horatian motto which Lord Derby, Prime Minister in 1867, proposed for the new State. It was not adopted, but it was as appropriate as it was classical. "Juventas et patrius vigor" it ran (Youth and inherited force).

Lord Strathcona was a very young man when Lord Durham went out to redress grievances and restore order. The loyalty of the French-Canadians and the readiness of many among them to serve in South Africa are striking and impressive facts of which nobody then dreamed.

For by this time the Canadian Ministry had decided to send a contingent of troops to the theatre of war. The High Commissioner wrote to Sir Wilfrid Laurier: —

I fully appreciate the difficulties you had to meet in determining to send a contingent to South Africa. Happily, the people here were so favourably impressed with the unmistakable and enthusiastic loyalty of the people of the Dominion as a whole that the strictures of one or two Quebec newspapers were hardly noticed.

Albeit, the momentary indecision about sending the troops made him secretly indignant. Even during his brief visit to Birmingham at the close of the black month of November, he was contemplating some plan by which he could personally assist in the cause of his fellow-countrymen in South Africa.

Another political uneasiness lay on his mind in reference to the much-vaunted Preferential Tariff. To Sir Wilfrid he wrote: —

I share your disappointment that while there has been such a substantial increase in Canadian exports, the imports under the Preferential Tariff have, so far, fallen short of what might reasonably have been expected from the change.

It appears as if [he said to Mr. Chamberlain] we had almost been pluming ourselves upon a fiscal sacrifice which has not yet been made. This will make our sacrifices of another kind all the easier.

As a matter of fact Imperial Preference, to work satisfactorily, could not possibly continue to be one-sided. He told his audience in Birmingham, speaking on the commercial relations of Canada with Great Britain: —

It is an encouraging sign of the times that these matters of inter-Imperial trade are now receiving, from the business community of the United Kingdom, the consideration their importance merits. This, doubtless, arises from the great strides that have been made in the development of the resources of the outlying portions of the Empire within comparatively recent years, and from the fact that Canada and the Colonies seem to offer the most promising markets of the future

for the products and manufactures of Great Britain. Whatever opinion may be held as to the fiscal policy of the Colonies, it is certain that their tariffs were imposed chiefly for revenue, and not for the purpose of restricting importations from Great Britain, which is avowedly the case in many other quarters. Moreover, statistics show indisputably that the trade of the Colonies is largely controlled by the United Kingdom, although it must be admitted that other nations are doing their utmost, and with some measure of success, to obtain a share of it — a matter which has not, perhaps, attracted so much notice as it merits.

Mr. Chamberlain has shown a readiness to look upon the question from its commercial aspect. Indeed, nearly all those who have studied the problem admit the value of the sentiment which must necessarily surround it; but, at the same time, it is equally generally recognized that the commercial element cannot, and must not, be ignored. What the United Kingdom looks for is a predominance in the markets of the Empire; what the Colonies desire is the market of the Mother Country for their products, which they hope to see favourably regarded, all other things, such as price and quality, being equal. So far as I have been able to judge, events appear to be marching in the direction of the fulfilment of these desirable objects; but progress in such matters is necessarily very slow. Still, I think the public mind is beginning to see the advantage, to put it mildly, of the relation between the different parts of the Empire being so arranged as to place Imperial trade on a friendly, or shall I say on a family, footing. Such a policy could not fail to be beneficial to the Empire, and I cannot see any international reason to militate against our regarding

from a more favourable point of view our internal trade as distinct from the external — or, let me say, our "domestic trade" from "foreign trade."

During the following month matters, so far from improving at the seat of war, became worse. A second contingent from Canada was announced as forthcoming. On the 18th Sir Wilfrid cabled: —

It is important that the commander of Second Canadian Contingent be a Canadian officer as in First Contingent. Intimate this privately to Lord Lansdowne so that nothing may interfere with this plan.[1]

Lord Strathcona wrote: —

I at once went to see Lord Lansdowne, and, after one or two fruitless attempts, managed to get an interview with him yesterday afternoon.

His Lordship stated that in all probability the Canadian force might have to be divided, but he quite understood the importance of the matter from your point of view, and I left him with the understanding that he would look into it, and see that nothing was done to interfere with your suggestion being carried out. He is also to advise me further.

Nevertheless there were from the beginning, unsatisfactory features about the whole arrangement

[1] "We have," wrote the Prime Minister, "organized our contingent on basis laid down by Colonial Office despatches of the 3d October, which provided for the payment of our men after they reach Africa. Efforts are being made to induce us to pay our own men. For Imperial and local reasons my opinion is very strongly that this question should not be pressed now, but reserved for future action, so as to maintain uniform action by all the Colonies. But we would like to supplement the pay of our men so as to make it amount to that paid them when serving here." (January 19th, 1900.)

between the Canadian Government and the War Office. These need not be referred to here: they must be familiar to any who have perused the history of the painfully protracted war which brought about the downfall of the two Boer Republics.

Shortly after Christmas the form which his private assistance to the Empire should take had been resolved. He mentioned it first privately to Mr. Chamberlain, who heartily applauded, and then formally, on December 31, to Lord Lansdowne, as Secretary for War. Briefly, and in his own words: —

My proposal is that four hundred men should be recruited in Manitoba, the North-West, and British Columbia, unmarried and expert marksmen, at home in the saddle, and thoroughly efficient as rough-riders and scouts. The force will be armed, equipped, and conveyed to South Africa at my expense.

Not until the 13th of January did the War Office accept his offer. Lord Strathcona cabled General Edward Hutton, then Commander-in-Chief of the Canadian Militia (or as he himself preferred to term it "the Canadian Army"): —

Have presented mounted regiment to Imperial Government for service in South Africa. Request you kindly raise same, mount same, equip same in Canada. Please draw on my account, Bank of Montreal, £150,000. My friend Sir Edward Clouston will provide all that is necessary.

It is no longer a secret that Lord Strathcona would have desired that his friend Colonel Hughes

should have commanded this little force, but he resolved to leave all the arrangements in the hands of the Canadian authorities. Meanwhile, much as he regretted the publicity, the fact of his offer had reached Canada, and on the 13th he cabled the Premier: —

Much concerned that matter has been allowed to become public prematurely through the medium of Ottawa press telegrams, as I wished without my name, but secrecy is no longer possible. Her Majesty's Government has now accepted my proposition and it may be announced. Horses preferred from North-West to be purchased by McEachran in consultation with General Hutton; men to be engaged on same terms as and equipped like Canadian contingents; all officers and men to be passed medically under arrangements to be made with approval of Dr. James Stewart, of Montreal, and General Hutton. Imperial Government takes over force on arrival, like Colonial contingents, returning men to Canada after campaign, but retaining horses, arms, and equipment except clothing and necessaries.

He explained further: —

The matter, of course, is to be entirely non-political, only qualification being thorough fitness and suitability of officers and men for services required. Grateful to you for use Militia Department, which will assure every economy compatible with fullest efficiency and thorough equipment of force. Will greatly appreciate if can have benefit of experience of General Hutton in the selection of men and purchase of horses, arms, and equipment. Officers to be nominated by him and

names and particulars submitted my approval. All accounts connected with the force till its embarkation, endorsed by General Hutton, will be paid by Edward S. Clouston, General Manager Bank of Montreal. Any stores or equipment not obtainable in Canada will purchase here as done for contingents. Am enquiring about transport and will cable further. Please telegraph meantime how soon force likely to start.

His generous and unprecedented offer aroused the utmost enthusiasm in Canada and was warmly praised in Britain. The *Times*, in referring to it remarked: —

How immense is the reserve of strength on which England, in a just cause, can draw, is strikingly revealed in the munificent offer we have the gratification of recording to-day. It comes from one who is at once a Canadian citizen and a British peer — Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, the Agent-General for the Dominion. The estimated cost of this munificence is said to be a million dollars, or £200,000. There are not many countries in the world where individual citizens are to be found able and ready to prove their patriotism on so splendid a scale. Such an offering to the common cause of the Empire would have been welcome from any quarter. It is doubly welcome from the representative of our greatest self-governing Colony. It is a proof how this war and these misfortunes, which, in the eyes of superficial Continental critics mark the beginning of our downfall, are in truth knitting us all together as we never were knit before. Blood and iron are doing their work.[1]

[1] Read fifteen years later what added significance have these passages!

It was the opinion of many military critics that no more efficient rough-riders and scouts could be desired than these men of the saddle and rifle from the prairie. It would have been easy to raise in Canada ten times the number: and the hope was expressed that when he had them Lord Roberts would accord them the fullest opportunities at the front. This fresh illustration of the Canadian spirit was received in a far less aloof and condescending spirit than was the case when the first Canadian contingent was offered and accepted.

The *Canadian Gazette* declared: —

It is for want of just such men as these Canadian mounted riflemen, and the scouting and irregular work they can do so well, that our army has suffered severely in South Africa in face of a mounted enemy. What four hundred of the Canadians and Australians did at Modder River under Colonel Pilcher is what might have been done at the outset of the campaign with the greatest advantage.

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

53 Cadogan Square, S.W., 19th January, 1900.

I now take the opportunity of writing to confirm the various cablegrams that have passed between us, respecting the organization of my little force for South Africa, and at the same time to thank you most cordially for the time and trouble you are devoting to the matter.

I was very grateful, indeed, to you for your willingness to place the organization of the Militia Department at my disposal, for the raising of the force, the

purchase of the horses, arms, and equipment, and the conveyance of the corps to South Africa.

In the first place, my impression was, that as the force is to be a personal one, it might be desirable to deal with it as far as possible in that manner, so that it should be considered not as being in any sense of an official character. I recognized naturally that it would be difficult to carry out the arrangements without the help of the Government and Militia Department, but I thought the object I had in view would be better achieved if arrangements could be made for General Hutton to act practically as my representative in the matter, and to have charge of the detailed arrangements, of course, in connection with the Minister of Militia, and not in any sense independent of Dr. Borden.

You will, I know, believe that, in mentioning my desire that the matter should be regarded entirely as non-political, I had no idea of making any reflection upon the organization of the First and Second Contingents. The expression was merely an incidental one, on the line of my idea that the force should not be official in any way in its character. Had I not been convinced thoroughly that no considerations of a political nature had been allowed to intervene in connection with the Government contingents, I should hardly have been disposed to move in the matter at all.

You will understand, I am sure, that the principal concern I have is that the force to be raised should be thoroughly efficient in every way, that the men and the officers should be the most suitable that can be obtained for the services for which they are likely to be required. And further, that the equipment and armament should be as perfect as possible, and I am

sure that this could not be done on better lines than those that have been adopted with the Government contingents.

With regard to the officers, I should like, of course, to have the names of those who are nominated submitted to me for approval, with any particulars about them that may be available, and there will be no delay on my part in reply to any communications I may receive on this branch of the subject.

As I mentioned in one of my telegrams, I am quite willing that the force should be increased to four hundred and fifty or five hundred men, if this is found to be practicable, and if a suitable ship can be obtained, to convey the number of men that may be selected within these limits, and the necessary horses. I am strongly of opinion that the men and horses should go in one ship.

It will be understood, of course, that the men will be paid at the same rates as the men forming the Government contingents. While I shall be responsible to that extent, and for the expenses connected with the purchase of the arms, horses, equipment, and of the transport, no other responsibility will attach to me, as the force will be taken over, like the Government contingents, by the Imperial Government, on its arrival in South Africa.

Unhappily, Lord Strathcona had not been informed of the strained relations which existed between General Hutton and the Laurier Ministry, which were now at all but the breaking-point. Moreover, General Hutton's rather too-frank expression of his opinion of the merits of the Colonial militia, as compared with British regulars, had

angered several of the leading militia officers, amongst them, Colonel Hughes. The latter, in protest, had addressed an open letter to the Commander-in-Chief, which General Hutton considered "unpardonable." Yet there were many passages in this production of manifest truth and force and even of eloquence. The upshot was that its writer found himself unable to obtain employment with the First or Second Contingents.

It was finally through Lord Strathcona's mediation, when General Hutton shortly afterwards arrived in England, that Colonel Hughes was persuaded to take a step toward a formal reconciliation which resulted in his being given employment in South Africa. His disappointment was keen that he was not to command the Strathcona Horse. An offer of a captaincy in that troop he had thought it proper to decline.

Colonel Hughes to General Hutton

I desire to make full and ample apology to you for certain letters written by me to you during recent months, letters written under excitement caused by the belief that I was to be debarred from participating in the deeds of a Canadian contingent in the Imperial service, should one be sent to the Transvaal, a project which I, as the proposer for many years, felt deeply at heart. I especially regret one reflecting, in a sense, upon the system, but the remarks I deemed a provocation — as I construed them — were a reflection upon Canadians; two or three incidents occurring practically on one day which I, from the viewpoint of one more

familiar with constitutional law rather than of British military practice, believed to bear upon my honour and rights as a citizen, caused me to express sentiments that are foreign to my belief in the form in which they seem.

I most respectfully wish to retract all letters written in what, to your military instinct, may seem insubordination, but which were not so meant by me.

Meanwhile, an excellent officer for the force had been found, another Ontarian, Colonel S. B. Steele, who had already distinguished himself in the Mounted Police. He writes: —

Two months after the First Canadian Contingent had sailed for South Africa I heard that it was likely that a mounted corps would be sent to the war. I went to Halifax, and had been there only two days when Sir Frederick Borden, Minister of Militia, telegraphed for me to return to Ottawa and raise and command a corps of mounted riflemen for Lord Strathcona, who was sending a regiment to South Africa at his own expense. I was to be allowed to take with me any officers and men of the Mounted Police who had volunteered for the service and could be spared from their duties, and I could have the service of the remainder to recruit the corps.

One squadron was to be raised in Manitoba, another in the North-West Territory, and the third in British Columbia; the whole of the saddlery, clothing, transport wagons, and many other articles of equipment had to be manufactured. The horses had to be purchased at the very worst time of the year and were to be cow-horses, that is, animals trained in round-up and all range work. Recruits were not wanting; one could have got thousands of the best men in Canada. I had

an offer from six hundred first-class Arizona stock men. They were prepared to supply their own arms, pay for any class of rifle that I desired, furnish their own horses, spare and riding, if I would take them for Strathcona's Horse. I had, of course, to decline, but it was clear proof of what the Empire can expect in time of trouble. One could have had the assistance of thousands of the finest horsemen in the United States.

The recruiting was completed on February 8, and was most satisfactory. On the 14th, we reached Ottawa, and were quartered in Lansdowne Park Exhibition Ground. The regiment was cheered at every station *en route*. March 6, I paraded the regiment for inspection of the Governor-General. Our space was limited, and the snow, being above the horses' knees, prevented me from doing more than march past in sections of fours, but the corps looked well.

The corps was at last complete and ready to move at a moment's notice, all the result of one month's work. During these strenuous days I had much encouragement from Lord Strathcona, who wrote me several kindly letters, impressing upon me that I was to spare no expense in providing for the comfort of the men and the efficiency of the regiment. I could say that in every respect I had carried out his wishes to the fullest extent and with due regard to economy, and thanks to his liberality and the active assistance I received from all concerned, I am sure it would have been impossible to find a better equipped corps in the world.

On March 17, the Strathcona Horse embarked upon the *Monterey* at Halifax, numbering 28 officers, 512 other ranks, and 599 horses.

The following cable message was received from Lord Strathcona, which, when published on board, was received with hearty cheers in every part of the ship: —

Very sorry I cannot see my force embark. Have transmitted Dr. Borden gracious message I have received from Her Majesty, which he will publicly convey to you and the men under your command. Have also asked him to express my best wishes to you all, and that you have a pleasant voyage, every success, and a safe return. Appointments of all officers gazetted; they will receive their commissions from the Queen. Hope to forward them to reach you at Capetown, where you will find a letter on your arrival. Report yourself to the General Officer Commanding, Capetown. STRATHCONA.

Excellent as were the arrangements on board for the comfort of all ranks, the voyage was not a pleasant one.

No sooner [writes Colonel Steele] did we get out into the open sea than, in spite of the fact that it could not be called rough, the vessel rolled heavily, a motion which she kept up on the slightest excuse for the greater part of the trip. After a few days one of the horses developed pneumonia, and from day to day many went to feed the sharks. The greatest care was taken, but it was of little avail, the disease had to run its course, and it was a pitiful sight to see so many exceptionally fine animals thrown overboard.

On April 10th the *Monterey* arrived and anchored in Table Bay and the commander found letters from Lord Strathcona, "all containing use-

ful advice. He sent out 150 field-glasses and wire-cutters, whilst money was placed to my credit to purchase lassoes, extra tea, and tobacco."

Colonel Steele describes how, while the Strathcona Horse were on the march, Sir Redvers Buller rode up with his staff, and passed in and out through the column of troops, expressing himself very much pleased. He said: —

I knew Lord Strathcona very well, when I was in Winnipeg on the Red River Expedition of 1870. It was arranged with him that I should go west to distribute the Queen's proclamation; but it turned out that I was required with my regiment, and Butler went instead, a very good thing too; for he wrote a very good book describing his journey, which I could not have done.

This is somewhat in advance of our narrative. The quarrel between General Hutton and Dr. (later Sir Frederick) Borden, led to a demand for the former's recall. Mr. Chamberlain had in vain endeavoured to heal the breach.

From Mr. Joseph Chamberlain

13th February, 1900.

DEAR LORD STRATHCONA: —

Thanks for your letter of the 10th instant, telling me of the message which you have received from Sir Wilfrid Laurier about General Hutton. I can only say that I deeply regret that after my promise to endeavour to settle the matter to the satisfaction of the Dominion Government, they should have thought it

necessary to send an official application for General Hutton's recall. Their action will necessitate my sending an official reply, going into the whole history of the relations between the officers appointed by the Imperial Government and the Dominion Ministers.

"What is the matter with your Ministers of Militia in Canada?" asked the Colonial Secretary. "Is there no one of our Imperial officers with whom they can work harmoniously? I confess frankly I am disappointed. I thought Hutton and Dr. Borden would get along well together."

Alas, four years later, as we shall see, there was to be a further rupture with another British commanding officer. On that occasion Lord Strathcona privately deplored the part politics had always played in militia affairs in Canada. "I'm afraid it will take years or some great national danger to put our military service on a plane above party interests," he said.

From Lord Strathcona

February 17th, 1900.

My dear Sir Wilfrid:—

The position with regard to General Hutton as shown in your confidential letters of the 30th inst., received yesterday, is a most regrettable one and gives much concern both to Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Lansdowne.

The experience with the generals sent out to command the militia has been anything but a satisfactory one, and ever since the retirement of Sir Selby Smyth, five in succession, including General Hutton, have

been recalled, as being for one reason or another unacceptable to the Canadian Government.

On getting your confidential telegrams I communicated on the subject with Mr. Chamberlain, who made a suggestion to the War Office of appointing Hutton for service in South Africa. It may be impossible at the moment to find an officer in every way qualified to be his successor.

He assured me that not a moment was being unnecessarily lost in carrying out your views concerning the transfer of the General for service elsewhere. I communicated to him your suggestion about Lake.

I called on him yesterday, and he then said that they would not be able to send Colonel Lake to replace General Hutton, who I presume will soon be here on his way to South Africa.

That same day the High Commissioner received a cable from Sir Wilfrid: —

16th February, 1900.

Concerning the official despatch for the recall of General Hutton, we would have been all along willing to have a confidential communication. The demand for official communication did not come from us. That communication when received may be kept in abeyance to be withdrawn, unless General Hutton forces whole question before Parliament.

In the following year the whole question was unhappily forced upon the Canadian Parliament, when it was conclusively shown that the Government could hardly have overlooked the indiscretions of the Commander-in-Chief, in certain public speeches reported in the newspapers, without

sacrificing its dignity or impairing the prerogative of the Minister of Militia.

The surrender of the Boer General Cronje at Paardeberg caused much satisfaction in Canada. Lord Strathcona cabled the news instantly to Sir Wilfrid Laurier:—

February 27th, 1900.

Lord Roberts reports that at 3 A.M. to-day a most dashing advance made by Canadian regiment and some engineers, supported by First Gordon Highlanders and Second Shropshire, resulted in our gaining a point some six hundred yards nearer the enemy and within eighty yards of his trenches, where our men entrenched themselves and maintained their position till morning. A gallant deed worthy of our Colonial comrades and which I am glad to say was attended with comparatively slight loss. This apparently clinched matters, for at daylight to-day a letter signed by Cronje, in which he stated that he surrendered unconditionally, was brought to our outpost under a flag of truce. Lord Roberts's despatch was read in House of Commons and House of Lords to-day and the reference to the gallantry of Canadian regiment was loudly cheered.

The Paardeberg success apparently suggested to Mr. Cecil Rhodes that another Canadian battalion might be employed in Rhodesia, and he communicated the suggestion to Mr. Chamberlain.

From Sir Wilfrid Laurier

March 9th, 1900.

The Colonial Secretary proposes recruiting in Western Canada for special service in Rhodesia: this force

to be raised at a special rate of pay, and as we understand from an agent here practically for service of the Chartered Company. If anything of the kind was to be done it will be necessary to have an official despatch from Colonial Secretary making unmistakable distinction between proposed force and those already sent to South African War. If such distinction is clearly marked and the purpose of force stated in express terms at the time of recruiting, then there would be no objection to course proposed. Without such clear distinctions, object of recruiting might be misconceived and create serious embarrassment. See Colonial Secretary, discuss subject, and advise us.

Lord Strathcona wrote:—

I at once communicated this message personally to Mr. Chamberlain. I understood your suggestion would be adopted if the matter were proceeded with, but owing to difficulties the subject would probably be dropped.

The Colonial Office have since sent me, for my confidential information, a copy of a telegram which was addressed to the Governor-General on the 2d inst., to the effect that Her Majesty's Government did not propose to proceed with the proposal.

He much desired that his friend Sir Charles Tupper, the leader of the Opposition in Canada, should be present at the departure from Halifax of the Strathcona Horse. This proved impracticable, but he was much gratified at receiving the following letter: —

From Sir Charles Tupper

OTTAWA, March 18th, 1900.

MY DEAR LORD STRATHCONA:—

Your kind cable of the 9th inst. gave me a great deal of pleasure as far at it referred to myself, but I was very sorry to hear that you had been so ill. I would have been very glad to comply with your wishes that I should see the Strathcona Horse off at Halifax, but I learned that Borden was going, and it was very difficult for me to leave the House at such a critical period of the Session. I had the pleasure of expressing the feeling of the people of Canada upon your munificent act, which has done so much for our Dominion, during the Debate on the Address, and of speaking to your contingent on the grounds at their quarters, and at Parliament Square, where they were reviewed by the Governor-General.

If you will accept it, I have no doubt to the joy of all Canadians, you will be the successor of His Excellency, nor do I doubt the British Government will mark your valuable services to the Crown by making your Peerage descend to your daughter and her son.

We are, I think, on the eve of a general election, the result of which I feel confident will be our return to power. I will not say more than to beg you on no condition to vacate the High Commissionership before a general election takes place.

Do not fail to take care of your health, upon which the whole country is so anxious.

With kindest regards to Lady Strathcona and yourself, I am, always,

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES TUPPER.

Tupper's Suggestion

On the same day Sir Charles also wrote: —

To Mr. Joseph Chamberlain

OTTAWA, March 18th, 1900.

MY DEAR MR. CHAMBERLAIN: —

I am sure you will be satisfied I made no mistake, either from a Canadian or an Imperial standpoint, to suggest that a peerage should be conferred upon Sir Donald Smith, and I feel certain that you will excuse me for saying that all Canadians will rejoice if his great services to the Crown at an important crisis are recognized by arranging that his peerage shall descend to his only child, the Honourable Mrs. Howard. She is the wife of Dr. Howard, who is the first Canadian who took the fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons. His father was the most eminent physician in Montreal, and a professor in the McGill University. Mrs. Howard would grace any position, and her family of sons and daughters are bright and interesting. You can imagine what it would be for Lord Strathcona, like myself so near the close of life, to feel that his grandson, Donald Howard, would one day wear his title. It is right you should know that no person living knows I have made this suggestion to you, and I am quite sure you will appreciate the spirit in which it is made.

You, beyond all your predecessors, have established the principle that service to the Crown shall receive the same recognition in the outlying portions of the Empire as in the Mother Country.

I was glad to find, when addressing a great meeting on the 5th at Boston, in favour of the Patriotic Fund,

a reference to yourself and your policy on the Transvaal was received with the wildest enthusiasm.

With best wishes, I remain,
Yours faithfully,
CHARLES TUPPER.

It had been Lord Strathcona's ardent wish, although Providence had denied him a son, that he should be the founder of a family bearing his name and continuing in the path he had marked out and so long had trod.

Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Charles Tupper

COLONIAL OFFICE, 31st March, 1900.

DEAR SIR CHARLES TUPPER: —

I have to thank you for your letter of the 18th, and the suggestion which you made in it. No one appreciates more than I do the character and services of Lord Strathcona, and I shall be delighted if I can forward his wishes in any way. As a matter of fact, however, when the peerage was conferred, the subject of its continuance to a daughter was considered, and it was found that there were great difficulties in the way of such an unusual grant. It is possible that these difficulties may ultimately be surmounted, and you may count on my seizing any opportunity of securing the desired result.[1]

I am, etc.,

Yours very faithfully,
J. CHAMBERLAIN.

Nothing could exceed his pleasure at the prospect held out that certain obstacles, which he

[1] The new royal patent was granted a few months later.

knew were founded upon error, but which he was too proud himself to point out, might, through the unsolicited exertions of his friends, be removed.

To Sir Charles Tupper

53 Cadogan Square, S.W.,
May 4th, 1900.

My dear Sir Charles: —

Your letter of the 22d April, having under cover copy of a letter from yourself to Mr. Chamberlain, of the 18th March, and of his reply of the 31st of that month, has this moment reached me, and I must send you a word of grateful thanks for all your great kindness to me and mine, to catch to-day's mail.

The kindness which actuated you in writing to Mr. Chamberlain as you did, I appreciate infinitely more than I would the fulfilment of the object you had in view in doing so, and I need only say that I am truly grateful to you. My wife and daughter will be not less so; but let me say that I would never have moved a finger, or said one word in furtherance of that object, however much I might desire it for my daughter and her children.

It is true that when a peerage was offered me, a word was said on the subject, but the thought was then dismissed from my mind, and in anything I may have said or done has not recurred to me since.

In a letter you most kindly wrote to me, bearing on the reception in Ottawa and Montreal to my little corps of mounted men, you brought up the subject in the kindest terms, but I had no expectation you would have gone further, and what is said in your present letter is therefore, with its contents, its enclosures, a pleasant surprise, that in one quarter at least on this

side there is an appreciation of what little I may have endeavoured to do for the benefit of Canada.

Again I thank you. I am not sure I have yet expressed to you how sensible I am of all you did in the send-off of my little battalion from Ottawa, but I hope you know how deeply I feel all the kindness and attention shown to them by yourself and other friends.

We were much grieved to hear of the serious accident to Lady Tupper, and we earnestly trust she is now quite recovered.

With our kindest regards for her and yourself, and in much haste, I am,

Very sincerely yours,
STRATHCONA.

A fortnight before he had written:—

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

LONDON, 21st April, 1900.

It was a great regret to me not to have undertaken my intended visit to Canada this past winter, but as I had a sharp attack of pleurisy the doctors thought it more prudent I should not venture crossing the Atlantic till later on; but I still look forward to being in Canada early in the summer, as I have quite regained my accustomed health.

The very valuable service of Archbishop Bruchési and Principal Peterson, in their efforts to heal the breach so unfortunately caused by some of the McGill students in their over-zeal and enthusiasm in connection with the war in South Africa, to which you refer, cannot be too highly appreciated by all who have the true interests of our country at heart.

Both His Grace and the Principal have been good enough to write me on the subject, the letters of the former having only just come to hand. To Dr. Peterson I had already written, and I shall not fail to write to the Archbishop expressing my deep sense of the obligation we owe him for having so successfully helped to avert a racial cleavage, than which I am entirely of opinion with you nothing could be more deplorable as affecting the future of the Dominion.

I need not say to you how your own efforts in the cause of the unity of the Empire are appreciated both here and throughout the Queen's Dominions.

During April the delegates from the Australian Colonies to the Imperial Parliament, seeking nationhood under the British flag, arrived in England. At a banquet in their honour Lord Strathcona, who responded to the toast of "The Home and Colonial Legislatures," told his hearers—

that they would do well, instead of speaking of the Home and Colonial Legislatures, to speak of the Legislatures of the Empire. But they all looked to the Home Legislature, to our Lords and Commons. In all the countries to which Englishmen had gone, they thought of that Mother of Parliaments, the Parliament of Great Britain, and they had also thought of and loved that cradle of liberty, their Mother Country. They had, he believed, in almost every country, decided that it was a wise thing that there should be two branches of the Legislature — one a check upon the other. When there was only one there might be some hasty legislation which might cause regret in the future. When there was a second, the opportunity was given for revising what had been

done. In the Legislatures of the outlying portions of the Empire there were altogether some fifty distinct and separate Governments having their distinct Legislatures. Of these he thought there were some eleven having responsible government. If they counted the Dominion of Canada as one of the nations equally with Scotland, Ireland, Wales, which all contributed to the prosperity of the United Kingdom, if they counted the seven or eight Provinces of Canada, they would have, instead of eleven responsible governments, something like eighteen or twenty. We were now about to have another commonwealth or nation. They were all proud and pleased to be there that evening to join in receiving and doing honour to the delegates who came for that great and momentous purpose of forming a new nation. But while it would be a new nation, it would not be, less than Canada, one in the most complete union with the Mother Country. They had with very great care and very great consideration come to the determination that instead of being isolated, — if he might so speak of the Colonies, — they should be one people for all purposes of legislation; and they came to the Mother Country with the full assurance that the Imperial Parliament would be only too happy to help them to carry out that which they believed was a measure the best that could be devised for the purpose of the administration of their country.

Speaking elsewhere Lord Strathcona said: —

Australians had a good example in Canada, but they have not followed us in any detail, having looked rather to the United States of America in regard to the relations of the Provinces to the Federal Power.

He was, besides, all for the retention of the appeal to the Imperial Privy Council, which the Commonwealth Bill disallowed. The clause was, owing to Mr. Chamberlain's opposition, deleted before the Act was passed by Parliament.

During the Boer War Lord Strathcona was in constant receipt of extraordinary letters, many of them anonymous, giving him advice and information as to events connected with hostilities. Some of his correspondents, especially those in remote parts of the Empire, even in Canada, laboured under a curious delusion as to his own personal status. Letters addressed to "General" or "Colonel" Lord Strathcona were not infrequent. One which greatly entertained him spoke of his "well known bravery and skill on the battlefield of which the newspapers are now full." This he forwarded to Colonel Steele, marking it, "wrongly addressed." Another was hardly so complimentary. It was from an old Hudson's Bay employee, who wrote:—

I have been reading your doings in South Africa with great surprise. Little did I think in the old days that you would ever make a soldier. Peace, I thought, was more in your line.

I hope "Strathcona's Horse" [wrote another unknown correspondent with more enthusiasm] will plant the Union Jack on the Court-House of Pretoria, and that the Canadians will be the first to reach Mafeking, and the God who made a way for his ransomed people to cross the Red Sea, closed the lion's jaws for Daniel, tempered the flames for Shadrach, Meshach, and

Abednego, and the host whom Elijah prayed the Lord to open the eyes of his servant to see, — may that same host encompass our soldiers and be a cloud by day and a light by night until they come home again. And may God always bless *our Empire*, keep our men true to her, always remembering the knightly hero St. George, their patron saint. And right worthy is Strathcona to carry the Standard of St. George. Never forget that you belong to Canada and Canada to you!

One letter was so singular that the High Commissioner forwarded a copy of it to the Prime Minister: —

St. Catherine, Ontario,
April 5th, 1900.

As you are a statesman that we trust, give this matter your closest attention at once. Certain Yankees are secretly encouraging the Fenians, furnishing them with firearms and giving them advice, the *principal* one just now being to blow up part of the Welland Canal, thus diverting trade from Montreal and way ports to New York. I am telling you facts; it is fully discussed in the States. Forewarned is forearmed! They have an opinion they could take Canada in twenty-four hours if they wanted to.

Having read and smiled at this letter, which was filled with extravagances, Lord Strathcona picked up the *Times*, therein to read that an attempt had actually been made on the Welland Canal.

Lord Strathcona in responding, at the Press Club annual dinner, to the toast, "The Imperial Forces," in April, 1900, said: —

Had the toast been submitted in its old stereotyped form it would have been very little appropriate for him to have responded to it. It was formerly of so local a character that those who came from the outlying portions of the Queen's dominions could hardly have been expected to answer to such a toast otherwise than by expressing the fullest sympathy with the Mother Country. Now, however, the toast, instead of being "The Army, Navy, and Auxiliary Forces," was given in what he considered the improved form of "The Imperial Forces." It showed that there was an Empire, and that Great Britain alone could not form that Empire; that without her Colonies there could be no Empire in reality. The Colonies recognized this, too, but they considered that their fealty, their duty, their homage, was owing to the mother who sent them forth. A few years ago they had the example of one of the Australasian Colonies coming to the aid of the Mother Country; now every outlying portion of the Empire where Englishmen were to be found not only came to the aid of the Mother Country, but fought the battles of the Empire and of her who was Queen and Empress of the whole of our great dominions. The men from Australasia had done well, the men from Canada had also done well, but they had not done more than the great and true men of the Imperial Army, and he was sure that they themselves would be the last to assume that they had done anything more than their simple duty.

War was a dreadful thing, but war had its lessons, and, if it disclosed weaknesses and imperfections occasionally, it also gave an opportunity for remedying them, and that opportunity would not be lost on the nation. Nothing could have shown the unity of the Empire as this war had done, and in that respect it had

been a good rather than an evil. It had been an object lesson for the world; one which the nations would doubtless take to heart. The unity of the British Empire was no longer an ideal, it was a fact. Nothing could contribute more to that unity than the fact that the sons of the Empire were fighting together and nobly and willingly giving their blood for its weal. Citizens of the Empire looked to the Army and the Navy and to the Imperial forces — and he was sure they would never look in vain — to maintain the dignity, the honour, and the solidarity of the Empire.

Said the Duke of Argyll, at a public meeting in April: —

I cannot avoid referring to the patriotic efforts of Lord Strathcona in raising the regiment which has borne his name, and sustaining it in the field for so long a time in Africa. "Strathcona's Horse" is a remarkable force, and its composition epitomizes the opinion which Canada has deliberately formed as to the rights and wrongs of the war that is, unfortunately, still proceeding. The people of the Dominion were not blinded by any of the party feelings in which some may indulge at home; and, looking across the seas, they see, as they thought, that the cause of Britain is the cause of right, freedom, and justice. They have acted upon that opinion, and have come forward ready to serve in South Africa in such great numbers that many excellent men have, of necessity, to be left at home. Such an experience is without parallel, and none can recollect a similar case, where one private individual has come forward and equipped so magnificent a body of men. That is not, however, the only act for which we ought to be grateful to Lord Strathcona.

He has lately been the means of inducing the Canadian Government to offer medals in the schools of Britain for proficiency in knowledge concerning Canada. Over one thousand such medals have already been distributed; they are being most eagerly sought, and I am sure that the action of the Canadian Government will be attended by most excellent results.

At the Colonial Institute Dinner in May, 1900, Lord Strathcona suggested that the Prince of Wales should again visit Canada:—

There were many — he amongst them — who looked back with the most pleasurable feelings to the visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada some forty years ago. Canada, at that time, was not a federation, not a Dominion, not a nation, as it is to-day, and he was sure that, should His Royal Highness go there in the near future, he would find a people not less loyal than they were nearly half a century ago.

It was true [he continued], that in Canada some sixty years ago there was what was called an insurrection; but the condition of the Colonies in those days was very different from what it is now. The Colonial Office is very different to-day from what it was then, when they imagined they knew a great deal more about what was good for those outlandish places called Colonies than the Colonies themselves. Now the Colonies felt that in the Mother Country they had a strong friend, while at the head of the Colonial Office was a statesman most anxious at all times to do everything that was in the best interests of the Colonies. He could only state that nowhere in the United Kingdom could they surpass the loyal reception which would be given to the Prince of Wales or any other member

of the Royal Family should they visit the Dominion. Let us hope that this suggestion, which is as yet in "the air," will come to pass, and that we shall have a visit.

Hearty cheers greeted Lord Strathcona's concluding expression of the joy all had felt at the escape of the Prince from the hand of an assassin. The visit of the Heir Apparent (now George V) took place in the following year.

Referring elsewhere to Canada's contribution to the South African Army, Senator Drummond said:

To ourselves it is a source of pride that among them is a corps of mounted infantry consisting of 589 men, equipped, armed, and carried to the seat of war through the princely liberality of the president of this bank. Heavy as is the price exacted in war for any benefits — not in treasure alone, for that is secondary, but in blood — Canadians now occupy a place among the nations not hitherto accorded to them, and can realize as never before that their country is part and parcel of the Empire, while the more distant shore where our flag flies is but a portion of our heritage.

That summer, in South Africa, the "Strathcona's Horse" performed much useful service. When, in October, Lord Dundonald parted from them on his return to England he addressed them thus: —

I have never served with a nobler, braver, or more serviceable body of men. It shall be my privilege when I meet my friend Lord Strathcona, to tell him what a magnificent body of men bear his name.

Later, as they entrained for Pretoria, Lord Dundonald stated that he was very proud of "Strath-

cona's Horse." From the time the regiment joined the brigade under his command it had covered a great deal of ground and had undertaken and successfully carried out many dangerous duties.

Major-General Barton also wrote their commander in November:—

I cannot speak too highly of the practical and effective manner in which the duty assigned to your splendid corps was carried out by yourself and all under your command yesterday, and I have specially mentioned this in my report to the Field Marshal Commanding-in-Chief. I only regret that circumstances prevented my supporting your movements by advancing further with the main body.

Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, bidding farewell to the regiment on January 15, 1901, publicly thanked them for their services and stated that they had marched through nearly every part of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, that he had never heard anything but good of the corps, and that they would be greatly pleased if he told them of the number of letters he had received from general officers all over the country asking for "Strathcona's Horse." [1]

The regiment sailed from Cape Town on January 21. All hands had been refitted with new clothing from head to foot and new hats sent out by Lord Strathcona, who, on their arrival in the Thames, sent them a telegram of welcome.

Subsequently, His Majesty King Edward re-

[1] Major-General S. B. Steele, *Reminiscences.*

viewed "Strathcona's Horse," thus addressing them: —

Colonel Steele, officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, I welcome you to these shores on your return from active service in South Africa. I know it would have been the ardent wish of my beloved mother, our revered Queen, to have welcomed you also, but that was not to be, but be assured she deeply appreciated the services you have rendered, as I do.

It has given me great satisfaction to inspect you to-day, and to have presented you with your war medals, and also with the King's colours.

Be assured that neither I nor the British nation will ever forget the valuable service you have rendered in South Africa.

Lord Strathcona gave a "magnificent banquet, modestly called a luncheon," to the whole corps. Many leading persons were present, including the Earls of Derby and Aberdeen (ex-Governors-General of Canada), the Earl of Dundonald, Major-General Laurie, M.P., Major-General Hutton, and many other officers of the army, prominent Colonial statesmen and gentlemen interested in the Dominion and other oversea portions of the Empire. Lord Strathcona, surrounded by his guests, received each officer and private at the entrance of the banqueting-hall, and afterwards proposed the health of the regiment. The occasion of his own toast being drunk produced the wildest enthusiasm, the officers and men springing to their feet and making the roof echo with their ardent cheer-

ing. The names of Sir Redvers Buller and Lord Dundonald, who, in the absence of Lord Roberts, took his place on Lord Strathcona's left, were also heartily received, the whole corps rising to honour them.

Before their return to Canada, Lord Strathcona gave a further banquet to the officers of the regiment. He received all the guests in the great drawing-room of the Savoy Hotel. Colonel Steele had the place of honour on his right, Earl Roberts, the Lord Mayor of London, Lord Lansdowne, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Redvers Buller, Lord William Seymour, Sir James Ferguson, and about thirty others were present.

Colonel Steele mentions a typical incident. He and other officers were returning to the Government for further service.

> He [Lord Strathcona] went with us to obtain passages from the War Office, where it was somewhat difficult to get the officers to understand that, as we were commissioned officers of a force which was paid by the British Government and were going out to the War, we were entitled to our passages by military transports. From the War Office back and forth to the Colonial Office we went; but Lord Strathcona eventually put matters right, and it was arranged that we should sail on the transport *Makool*, the same ship which had taken Strathcona's Horse to Kosi Bay.

So delighted was Lord Strathcona with the exploits of the Canadians that he cabled out the bulk

of the leading article in the *Times* to Sir Wilfrid Laurier: —

> All classes of our troops, in success as in defeat, have displayed splendid qualities, but if anything could enhance the intense and widespread satisfaction at their achievement, it is the knowledge that the Canadian Contingent played a principal part in the movements which forced the stubborn Boer leader to own that he was beaten.

Lord Strathcona added that the military article in the same journal also stated: —

> It is peculiarly interesting to note that the "*coup de grâce*" to General Cronje's force was delivered by the Canadian regiment, whose action at an early hour of yesterday is described by Lord Roberts as a gallant deed worthy of our Colonial comrades. The fact that the force voluntarily offered by the great self-governing Colony of Canada had greatly distinguished itself in another continent is one which will not be forgotten. The gallant Canadians who fell yesterday have helped draw closer the bonds which unite our Empire.

Nevertheless, he was much concerned over the circumstance of the short enlistment of the Canadian contingents, — a single year only, — and his impatience was great when six out of eight companies refused to accede to Lord Roberts's request to prolong their term of service by a few months. Had it been possible he would himself have wished to interfere and appeal to the men: but reflection showed that it was best not to call too much attention to the incident. He contented himself

with explaining the matter to the Commander-in-Chief: —

To Field Marshal Earl Roberts

February 10th, 1901.

We in Canada have been so long isolated and absorbed in our own material development that it will take us some time to recognize fully the gravity of Imperial defence outside our own borders, But the temper of the Canadian people is elastic and will be found to fit the situation should it ever arise in the future. They will only need to be impressed by its gravity to come forward to meet it. This war, if only a beginning, has, I trust, proved that.

CHAPTER XXV

THE GROWING TIME

1900–1909

LORD STRATHCONA may well have felt embarrassed by the overwhelming character of his reception when he visited Montreal in the summer of 1900. On his arrival at the station he was greeted by a deputation of prominent citizens and twelve hundred students of McGill University, whose exuberance was no whit dampened by a steady downpour of rain. The interval of waiting for the Chancellor was employed in pulling down tradesmen's signs, upon which the magic name "Strathcona" was then chalked. A baker's cart was "held up" and deprived of its load of loaves, which, soon rendered sodden by the rain, made excellent missiles for those whose enthusiasm seemed to require a stimulus. When at last the train steamed into the station, the deputation, headed by Sir William Van Horne, boarded the car and welcomed Lord Strathcona at his homecoming. "Canada does not forget such lifelong services as Lord Strathcona has rendered." That inscribed on a banner was the note of the occasion. The McGill students, shouting and cheering, waving their hats, called for three cheers for Lord Strathcona, and thousands took up the chorus, "For he's a jolly good fellow."

When the object of their demonstration descended the steps of the station a mighty roar went

up, and it was with difficulty he made his way to his carriage, from which the horses had been withdrawn and to which ropes were attached by the students. Torrents were descending, but the welcoming multitude, wet and covered with mud, with broken umbrellas, and boots and trousers past recognition, evinced no diminution of ardour. They emitted the college yell; again and again they called for cheers for Strathcona and Strathcona's Horse, and while the bells of St. George's Church loudly pealed a welcome, the carriage was drawn along to Lord Strathcona's residence in Dorchester Street.

Arrived at his residence, and touched at such evidences of a popularity his prime had never known, Lord Strathcona addressed the students: —

I feel deeply [he said] the kindness of your reception and its heartiness, and I hope that I shall have the opportunity of meeting you all during my short stay here. The reception which you have given me to-day will remain vividly imprinted on my memory during the remainder of my life, however long or short that may be. I cannot in reason expect that many more years remain to me.

At this point a crowd of students interrupted his remarks by giving him three cheers, and before the sound of this had died away, some one in the crowd asked, "What's the matter with Strathcona's Horse?" to which the whole crowd duly responded. Lord Strathcona then said: —

Yes, gentlemen, they are "all right." They have done, and will do, their duty like all the soldiers of

the Queen, no matter from what part of the Empire they are gathered, and in the same spirit McGill will do its duty.

Loud cheers greeted the conclusion of this speech.

He later told the Montrealers: —

Imperialism is not confined to any one class in England now; it pervades the whole nation. It is no longer a sentiment of any one district. In the parts of the country where the labouring classes toil, there you find the feeling very, very strong.

Mr. Chamberlain is essentially a Colonial Minister. He has done more for the Colonies, I think, than any Minister preceding him in the Colonial Office. He is a man of wonderful energy and vigour, determined to strengthen the connection between the Mother Country and her Colonies. The policy of a closer union has become astonishingly popular on the other side. It is not now momentary or evanescent. The war in South Africa has stirred the people in a wonderful manner. The country has seized every opportunity of showing its interest for, and sympathy with, the outlying members of the Empire.

This feeling [he predicted] was sure to be lasting, simply because it was entirely voluntary. It is a free government in Canada as in England. If Canadians had felt that they were compelled to aid England in the recent struggle, some of them might possibly have been disposed to rebel. The assistance tendered to the Empire was not compulsory; no such feelings were engendered. What is this seeking after a closer bond between the Colonies and the Mother Country, after all? Is it not a common necessity? The Mother Land is necessary to the Colonies and the Colonies are

necessary to the Mother Country. A close bond of Union is our strength — it is her strength! Think of its effect on the other nations! It is a course with mutual advantages to the Colonies and to England.

As to the desire for closer union leading to some formal arrangement by which the Colonies would be represented in the Imperial Councils, I do not think this question should be forced. Should the trend of feeling eventually run in that way, means will be found to devise a working arrangement. At present I would not urge it. A common impulse is now felt in all parts of the Empire. When the Empire is engaged in war, all the component parts feel that they, too, are concerned. There is a oneness of feeling which could not have been dreamt of before the Transvaal War. I would not be in a hurry to force this sentiment into legal or binding shape. Canada has gained greatly by her action in sending out the contingents. She is known now in England in a way which would have been simply impossible some years ago. It is felt by people in England that they may invest their capital in Canada with as much security as they can at home. Canada has come to be regarded as an integral part of the Empire, sharing in the Imperial thought.

Speaking of the conduct of Strathcona's Horse, Lord Strathcona said: —

There is another thing of which I am very proud, and that is the fine stand our Canadian horses took in the hardships of the contest. I have it on excellent authority and from many sources that the horses which were shipped from the Canadian North-West to South Africa have proved themselves to be the finest class of horses used there by the British Army.

Everywhere he went and every day of his brief sojourn in Canada, the heartiness of his reception was the same.

The Toronto Board of Trade gave him a banquet at which four hundred representative persons of the Province of Ontario were present. "The gathering," commented the *Globe*, "was a great tribute to the philanthropic nobleman who had done so much for Canada and the Empire."

We are told that, on his rising to speak, the guests and spectators in the galleries cheered for several minutes, the band playing "Rule Britannia." The principal theme of his speech was the bond of union between the Mother Land and her Colonies, now cemented by the blood their sons shed together on the soil of South Africa.

When we speak of a united Empire, we speak of the Dominion and the other Colonies coming closer together. May we not express a hope, too, that in our Dominion there may be less provincialism amongst us? Whether in Ontario, Quebec, the Maritime Provinces, the Prairie Provinces, or in that great Western country which was once called a sea of mountains, and which they now know to be a rich sea of mountains, they ought to feel in all their legislation they desired to come together in everything that was good for the Dominion at large.

A few years ago people from Canada and the Colonies were regarded in England as merely those to whom it was well to be civil — very worthy backwoods people, but hardly worth while crossing the sea to recognize. We know that our neighbours of the

United States were thought highly of, and seen everywhere in society, but was it so of ourselves from Canada and the other Colonies, as we had a right to expect? How is it to-day? To be a Canadian citizen or a citizen of any other Colony is to have the warmest good wishes of all the best people of the Mother Country.

The feeling that has gone forth toward the Colonies is not, I feel assured, an evanescent one. While we are the first among the nations within the Empire, we are glad to know that there is another true-born nation which is to take its place alongside of Canada in a very few weeks. The grandson of Her Gracious Majesty the Queen goes there to assist in opening the new Parliament, and I trust that the occasion will not be lost of having that same member of the Royal Family, as representing Her Majesty, come also amongst us on his return.

We should now be regarded as one people, one great Empire of Englishmen, no matter what our mother tongue may be. There is one agency which I trust within a very short time we shall see as an established fact, and which I believe will be a factor in that direction. I feel we may be confident that we shall, at the close of 1902, have cable communication direct from Canada to Australia. While we have but little business connection with the Southern Federation, doubtless it will go on increasing to great proportions, as there is much in each country that the other needs.

To the Warden of Victoria College he had previously written:—

To Miss Hilda Oakeley

5th May, 1900.

It is a great satisfaction to me to learn from you of the excellent progress being made in the Royal Victoria College for Women, and perhaps it is an advantage that for the first year there should be only a few resident students.

You correctly interpret my wishes with regard to the College when you say that I had mainly in view in establishing it, "that the more studious students who are taking the strict University course should work under the happy conditions of home life with those who share their ideals and interests." Our object ought certainly to be to induce as many of the Canadian young women as can be properly accommodated to take the entire course as under-graduates, while at the same time finding room, as far as practicable, for those who are only occasional students.

It was a great regret to me that I was unable to visit Canada this last winter and to be present during your session, but the doctors interposed their veto on my going out while I was not altogether strong and in the best of health. I am still very hopeful of being in Canada sometime early in the summer, and look forward as well to be there again in the autumn or early winter during your second session.

It was during this visit that he formally opened, in November, the College he had founded. Lord and Lady Minto were present, as well as hundreds of Montreal citizens and many students of McGill University, at a reception which exceeded

in size and magnificence any private entertainment previously given in Montreal, and even surpassed that given by Lord and Lady Strathcona at the Imperial Institute, London, in the summer of 1897, at which all the Canadians then in the English metropolis were invited guests. On this occasion Lady Minto unveiled the statue of the Queen, executed by Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll, at the entrance to the college. Miss Oakeley, as Warden of the college, then presented Her Excellency with an immense bouquet of roses, tied with the college ribbon.

In the year following, Lord Strathcona wrote to Miss Oakeley: —

May 25th, 1901.

The account you are able to give of the Royal Victoria College and those who have the good fortune to be under your care in it, shows indeed a satisfactory record for the Session which has just closed, and I have no doubt that as time goes on, the College will be increasingly useful to the people of Montreal and Canada in training up well-educated gentlewomen.

October 28th, 1901.

It is only now, too, I am able to send a reply to the kind letter of the "Delta Sigma" Society, asking if I would give an address — the annual lecture — before their literary society, a request which at their suggestion is enforced in your note. Any such effort on my part would, I fear, be a sad disappointment, as I cannot hope to do justice to what ought to be the standard of such an occasion, but entirely apart from this, fearing greatly, owing to my engagements, I could not name

an evening when I could be present for the purpose. This, pray believe me, is a sincere regret to me, and let me add how proud I am to have my name, both Christian and surname, so pleasantly associated with the Delta Sigma Society.

In another speech to the citizens of Montreal, Lord Strathcona foreshadowed his return to Canada "upon the completion of important works in which he had been much interested," which were taken to mean the Pacific cable and the establishment of a fast Atlantic service. Once again he reminded his hearers that "the action of the Colonies in sending troops to South Africa was not merely a matter of patriotism, for the Colonies," he said, "are as necessary to Britain as Britain is to the Colonies."

One of the first of his duties on his return to England was to take part in the national welcome of the war-worn body of Canadian troops returning from South Africa under Colonel Otter's command. A great reception was given at the Imperial Institute in their honour. Addressing the assembled company, he said: —

The citizen soldiers of Canada had been received as brothers not only by the Queen's soldiers of the United Kingdom, but by the whole of London, representing admirably the people of Great Britain. It was needless to speak of the different battles in which these citizen soldiers had been engaged, for their record was well known. All the Queen's soldiers had done their duty gallantly and well, those from Canada and the other Colonies side by side with the rest. This had been expected of them by all Canadians, and they

had not been disappointed. Colonel Otter and his officers and men, and indeed the whole Canadian Contingent, would be the last to say they had done better than others; but they only claimed to have done what they could to conserve the honour, the dignity, and the integrity of the Empire. What these troops have done in the past they would be equally ready to do in the future, if the need of the Empire should arise.

The illness and death, on January 21, of the universally beloved and revered Queen Victoria had profoundly affected him. He and Lady Strathcona were present in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, at the funeral service, where he was heard to remark several times to acquaintances, "Think of it — think of it — Queen Victoria is dead!" To him the event meant more than to most. His memory could travel back to the London of the first year of Victoria's accession, when as a fresh-faced youth, with all his career before him, he had lingered in the streets hoping to be "rewarded by the spectacle of Her Majesty."

At a special court of the Governors of the Royal Scottish Corporation, held in order to pass a resolution of sorrow on the Queen's death, of sympathy with the Royal Family on their bereavement, and congratulation to His Majesty King Edward VII on his accession to the Throne, Lord Strathcona attended with Lord Rosebery. Canada's High Commissioner seconded the resolution, which was proposed by the ex-Prime Minister. He said: —

But little is ever required from one who seconds Lord Rosebery. It might, however, coming as he did

from an outlying portion of the Empire, be permitted to him to say a word as to the feeling of the Colonies on that most sad occasion.

If they went back to the commencement of the reign of her late Majesty, they would find in Canada symptoms of disloyalty, of race hatreds, and not everywhere the warmest possible homage to her name. They had different peoples there — there were the natives, there were the French, and there was not anywhere at that time that feeling of love for the Mother Country that was now so conspicuous a feature in our great Western Dominion. But it was felt for the first time under the beneficent reign of Her Majesty that justice would be given to all. In his Colony, when her sons visited the Mother Country, they must see the Queen. He had had a very touching instance of this quite recently. A poor man had come to him, stating that he had come home from Canada for the express purpose of seeing the "great, good mother," and when he had accomplished that he would go back again. He was enabled to secure for this poor man the privilege of seeing the Queen in one of her drives. After that this Canadian returned home at once, and said the wish of his life had been accomplished.

At that moment, Canada, as well as the other outlying portions of the Empire, joined in the sorrows of the Mother Country. And, likewise, in the United States of America it was felt that a great English sovereign had passed away, whose life was full of years and honours, and who had provided so bright an example to all. It was not alone in Canada that grief was felt, but throughout the whole of that great Republic which was its neighbour. As to His Majesty King Edward VII, the people of Canada, like all his

subjects, heartily congratulated him, and hoped that he might be spared for many long years to follow in the steps of his predecessor. They in Canada had a profound and pleasant recollection of his visit when Prince of Wales, forty years before.

In April, before a distinguished audience at the Imperial Institute, he read a paper on "Canada and the Empire." The Duke of Argyll in his happiest vein introduced the lecturer. Everybody, he said, knew what Lord Strathcona had done, and the Duke, being a Scotsman himself, maintained that only a Scotsman could have done what Lord Strathcona had done; and only a Scotsman who had had a long residence in Canada, benefited by her air, her institutions, and by the experience acquired on her soil. The Duke was particularly grateful to Lord Strathcona in that he had become an Argyllshire man, and had brightened with his presence a place which formerly had rather dismal associations. Glencoe was associated with the great cruelties practised upon some of those who were not up to what might be called the "Imperial" ideal of their time. The Duke pointed out how matters had changed, and the locality was now a centre of light and leading in the Imperial feelings of the day.

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

LONDON, 2d May, 1901.

The other day Mr. Chamberlain asked me to see him about some matters which could be better explained verbally than in writing.

First, he referred to the National Monument to Queen Victoria. It was evident from what he said that it would be very gratifying to the King and to the Government here that Canada should show an interest in the matter, by contributing to the fund being raised for it, the amount of the contribution being of much less consequence than the assurance that the Dominion entered cordially into the idea of there being one grand memorial in London, joined in by every part of the Empire. I am sure that your coöperation in this will be regarded with the greatest appreciation here.

The other matter suggested is that a certain moderate sum should be placed at the disposal of the Governor-General to enable him adequately to entertain the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall on their visit to Canada. Indeed, I believe that Lord Minto has given Mr. Chamberlain to understand that his personal means do not permit of his doing what he could wish in this way.

About these somewhat delicate matters to deal with, I write you frankly, as I know you will not misunderstand the spirit in which I bring them to your notice, and I also feel sure you would like to have placed before you what is passing in the minds of the people here on such subjects.

While I have the pen in hand, let me say that just before the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall left for Australia their reception in Canada happened to come up in conversation with Mr. Chamberlain, on which I said that if quite agreeable to the King, and of course also to your Government, I should be glad to assist in the welcome of the royal party in Montreal, to which the response was that anything I might do in that respect would be acceptable.

Please understand that I do not wish unnecessarily to put myself forward, but if you entirely concur, I shall be pleased to go to Montreal in September to aid as best I can either by accommodation and entertainment, or otherwise in my house.

To C. R. Devlin, M.P.

5th August, 1901.

It is quite unnecessary to take any notice of Mr. Henri Bourassa's statement, a sufficient answer to it being that on his resolution in condemnation of the course of the Government in connection with the South African War, he had only three supporters in a full House. As regards the action of the Contingent from Canada, their deeds speak fully for the admirable way in which they conducted themselves, along with their fellow-soldiers from the Mother Country and other parts of the Empire.

All of this year, as of preceding ones, he had been agitating the scheme of a fast Atlantic steamship service. As for that other matter of the Pacific cable, it had happily reached finality. The cable was being rapidly laid and would soon be one of the Empire's assets. But the line of twenty-five-knot steamers was still as far away as ever. Lord Strathcona said: —

The Canadian Government realizes fully that the St. Lawrence route should be made as safe as human foresight can make it. The insurance rate for Canada is from seven and one half to eight guineas, as against three to New York, Boston, and other United States ports. Thus we are heavily handicapped, and the

Government should, and I am convinced will, do all in its power to improve the route if this is possible and if such drawbacks exist. There is no sentiment in this question of insurance; it is purely a business matter. Competition is too keen nowadays for any sentiment to intervene, and if it were safe to take lower rates, you may be sure there would be plenty of offers.

If the Government sees its way to grant a subsidy which would meet the views of Sir Christopher Furness, I have no doubt he would be willing to tender for the service. He is firmly convinced that only a first-class service will be of any use; a fast service — a service that can compete with the United States lines.

On the question of a Canadian terminal I cannot but think that the port must be the one giving the shortest sea passage from land to land, and I should think some point in Cape Breton is the place, if it affords good harbour accommodation, and where passengers, perishable and certain other kinds of freight, can be taken on board. That is the only way we can ever secure a thoroughly good, efficient, and up-to-date service.

I have always taken a very great interest in this question; I have been working at it for years, and I have always maintained that it was a necessary adjunct wherewith to maintain the reputation of our transcontinental route to the east. The Canadian Pacific are taking steps to accelerate the speed of their Pacific steamers, and we must have a fast service on the Atlantic.

Highly did he appreciate the distinction when in October, 1902, the honorary degree of D.C.L. was conferred on him by the University of Oxford, on the occasion of the Bodley Tercentenary.

The Tariff Reform Movement

The launching by Mr. Chamberlain of his great scheme of tariff reform for the United Kingdom caused Lord Strathcona the greatest satisfaction. "Although," he told the Colonial Secretary, "I cannot from my position publicly support you, nor even hint in public here at my sentiments, you know what those sentiments are."

He held the view strongly that free trade in England was building up the prosperity of Germany and other nations and retarding, and perhaps forever preventing, the commercial unity, and therefore the real unity, of the British Empire.

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

May 16th, 1903.

Mr. Chamberlain made a remarkable speech at Birmingham and the report of it, as given in the *Times* this morning, I enclose with this, also a report of Mr. Balfour's reply to a deputation which waited on him yesterday on the question of the corn and flour duties.

It is very evident that the people of the United Kingdom are not yet quite ripe for any measure of protection, but there is certainly a strong and growing feeling that there ought to be a preference to the Colonies.

A fortnight later he wrote: —

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

May 30th, 1903.

Mr. Chamberlain assured me that should pressure to impose duty on flour be irresistible, he will insist on drawback for Canada.

He thought it just possible that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might have to give way to the insistence for a duty on flour, but he very decidedly said that if so, Canada must be exempt.

I have since had some conversation with him on "the new departure," and I have sent you the text of his speeches and all pamphlets on the subject which have appeared in the principal London papers, so need not here trouble you as to anything further about it, than to say that Mr. Chamberlain has evidently come to regard the position from your point of view, that it is the wish of the Imperial Government to formulate its own policy and then to approach the Colonies on the subject.

At the annual Dominion Day Banquet, he said:—

In a very short time Canada would be able to provide every pound of breadstuffs required in this country, and with a strong navy the Mother Country would be proof against the pinch of necessity. Whilst Canada has been glad to give a preference to the Mother Country there was at present a good deal in the air regarding preferential relations within the Empire. Many who had been working in the past for that end now saw a gleam of sunshine before them, and he hoped such a result would be obtained without depriving themselves of their trade with foreign countries. Was there any reason why in their domestic affairs they should not be one great family throughout the British Empire? Surely it was only reasonable that the different parts of that Empire should exhibit a preferential feeling toward each other. They were all proud of that great statesman who had done so much for the Colonies —

he had the courage of his convictions. Was it proposed that they should stumble at once into something very different from what they had now? Was it not asked that they should consider the situation carefully, and then do what was thought best for the whole of the King's dominions? In Canada they had no fear of the outcome of the enquiry, but whatever happened the loyalty of the Dominion would remain undisturbed.

In conclusion, the Chairman mentioned that during the last ten months 104,000 people had entered Canada, "a considerable proportion of them being good citizens of the United States, who had now gone to help build up the Empire, and be as loyal subjects of the King as any others."

When some one suggested to him that there might be some resentment in America at any preferential treatment of Canada — especially if American industries suffered thereby, he asked: —

Why should there be any resentment? Americans are business men. Between their own States there exists an arrangement for the most complete mutual benefit, while they interpose a tariff against the outside world. Why should they resent the establishment between the States of Greater Britain of a mutually benefiting arrangement? Or why should they resent the withdrawal on the part of Great Britain of advantages which she has voluntarily given them if she does so in pursuit of a policy of advantage to the constituent parts of her Empire? We do not resent any part of the domestic policy of the United States. Why should her citizens, as business men, resent any change in our domestic policy?

Was not Canada herself apprehensive of the results of a change from her present conditions? Did not the Government believe, for instance, that the disturbance of fiscal relations with the United States might result in the aggravation of friction in questions of policy, such, for example, as the Alaskan Boundary Question? In short, was there not a feeling in Canada that any change might be a change for the worse, and that it would be better to leave matters alone?

To these questions Lord Strathcona replied that he did not believe in that expression as the feeling of Canada. "I do believe that throughout the Dominion there exists, on the other hand, the greatest confidence in the statesman who is now at the Colonial Office. And I think that Canada believes in him, and trusts to his judgment and ability."

During Lord Strathcona's annual absence in September of this year Sir Walter Peace, Agent-General for Natal, suggested that the representatives of the self-governing Colonies should unite in tendering Mr. Chamberlain an official banquet on his retirement. In this he wished Canada to take the initial steps. If Canada approved, Sir Wilfrid Laurier would be asked to cable the various Colonies to instruct their representatives to co-operate.

From Sir Wilfrid Laurier

The Canadian Government continues firm in the conviction that preferential trade on the lines laid down at the Colonial Conference last year is the best

policy in the interest of the British Empire and we warmly recognize and appreciate Mr. Chamberlain's services as Colonial Secretary, especially his endorsement of that policy. At the same time we are strongly of opinion that the proposed demonstration would be ignoring His Majesty's advisers at this moment as appearing to take sides in what has unfortunately become a party question in England and a crisis which is now submitted to the judgment of the British electorate.

This seemed sound doctrine and practice. Nevertheless, Lord Strathcona did not fail to avail himself of this and every opportunity to express publicly his appreciation of the services of the retiring minister.

It was no disparagement to his predecessors to say that he had done more than any man to promote Imperial unity and the development of the Empire. During the term of his office many events of importance bearing upon the Colonies and the Empire had taken place. I would refer to the Conferences of 1897 and 1902, and it is gratifying to learn that such gatherings were likely to be held in the future.

I would also point to the Federation of Australia, the introduction of preferential tariffs in Canada and South Africa in favour of British imports, denunciation of the German and Belgian treaties, the laying of the Pacific cable, the establishment of penny postage within the greater portion of the Empire, the abolition of the sugar bounties, the inclusion of Colonial stock among trustees' securities, and the visit to South Africa — a precedent which we hoped would be widely followed in the future. All these constituted

a record of which he and the Government might well be proud. He has always been most considerate and most appreciative in regard to all matters affecting our Dominion of Canada.

He repeated these sentiments on several other occasions, notably in February, 1904, when he declared: —

Mr. Joseph Chamberlain is a great man and a great statesman. The Colonies look upon Mr. Chamberlain as their very best friend and one who, in the high position he has held, has done more for the Colonies, and is doing more for the Colonies, for the Mother Country, for the Empire, and for the general good, than any other man. But what have British political parties done for the Colonies? Other countries have been seeking to be connected closely with them, even more so, perhaps, than the Mother Country, for the time was not far past when some of their statesmen considered that it would be to the benefit of the United Kingdom if the Colonies were gently allowed to go their own way. Where would their Empire be if England were alone? Was it not better that they should be brought together, for then they would have an Empire of which they might well be proud? During the South African War the Colonies had come to the assistance of the Mother Land because they felt that it was only by being united that there could be real and true strength within the Empire.

As they did in the past, so would they do in the future. Therefore, it will be wisdom on their part to endeavour to draw closer and still more closer to the Colonies than is at present the case, making

such arrangements in a commercial sense as will enable them to have within the domestic circle of the Empire the coöperation and union and reciprocity that would make one great family.

He was not to go without criticism, and he took an early opportunity to reply to the attack made on him in the Canadian House of Commons. By one member he was accused of exceeding his rights as Canadian High Commissioner, by practically allying himself with one of the British political parties and campaigning with Mr. Chamberlain. If the charge were true, and if he had been guilty of allying himself with Mr. Chamberlain, it is only fair to say that in so doing he would have acted exactly as the vast majority of his fellow-Canadians would have been proud to have him act. But the truth is, he was always very careful to remember his semi-diplomatic position in London, and to keep himself clear of British party politics.

He retorted that while a very great admirer of Mr. Chamberlain, he had never in any way been connected with that statesman's fiscal crusade, and that in his position as representative of Canada, he knew no politics, British or Canadian.

This [declared a leading Montreal journal] is an entirely satisfactory reply to the criticism in question. No attitude could be more proper. Canadians would generally not want him to conceal his personal belief in Mr. Chamberlain's pro-Canadian policy; but they will agree with him that his delicate and highly important work in London can best be done from a position of party neutrality.

His visit to Canada that year, if not marked by such scenes of tumultuous enthusiasm, was again very pleasant, and awoke many happy memories. He said in the course of a public speech: —

To me it appears looking back as a dream. It disposes me to rub my eyes sometimes and feel if I am really awake. Who could have thought fifty years ago of the transformation which has taken place? Seeing what has been done in the past by the people of Canada, it is an earnest, and a good one, too, that they will still be up and stirring, and that they will not be contented only with what they and their fathers have done, but that they themselves will still continue to do their utmost, and that they will instill into the minds of their children, and the children again of these, that there is an inheritance which is theirs, and that it would be a humiliation to all of them not to do their utmost to sustain it, and to still press forward.

Even sixty years ago I was an optimist. Pessimism is not a good thing to live upon. You may go upon it for a while if you will, but for a country or a person, depend upon it you will make more out of anything by thinking good of it than by holding it in ill favour. And that is how it will be with Canadians.

From time to time rumours of his approaching retirement appeared in the newspapers. In the autumn of 1903 these rumours brought forth an official denial from the Honourable Mr. Fielding in the Canadian House of Commons. General cheers greeted the Minister's statement, and there was in England many an echo of congratulation. The burden of eighty-three years now rested upon

his shoulders, yet he had no sooner returned to England than he at once plunged into the heart of things Canadian, especially the scheme, not yet realized, for a fast Atlantic line.

Of the many admirers of the Earl of Dundonald, who had gone out to Canada to fill the post formerly held by General (now Sir Edward) Hutton, he was not the least. He deplored the political partisanship which, in the Dominion, too often ruled in the appointment of militia officers. Of Dundonald, Colonel Hughes, M.P., said in the Canadian House of Commons: —

> One of his ancestors was the famous admiral who commanded the British frigate, *Navarion;* another fell at the capture of Louisburg in the eighteenth century; and the General himself is distinguished in every part of the world where he has served. The Strathcona Horse and other Canadian corps followed him again and again to victory in South Africa, and I can readily understand the annoyance that an officer of his standing should feel, on coming out here, with the best interests of the Empire at heart, — with the best interests of Canada at heart, because the interests of Canada are the interests of the Empire, — at having to put up with this thing from week to week, and finally becoming so exasperated, as at a banquet, determined that come what might he would for all time to come put a stop to such petty meddling as has been indulged in.[1]

None the less, it was clear, as the facts came out, that Lord Dundonald had been imprudent —

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, June 10, 1904.

indeed, in his protest against what he conceived to be an evil, that he had cast prudence to the winds. The result was an Order-in-Council relieving Lord Dundonald of his duties.

From Sir Wilfrid Laurier

OTTAWA, 10th August, 1904.

MY DEAR LORD STRATHCONA: —

His Excellency, the Governor-General, has forwarded, by this mail, to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, copy of an Order-in-Council concerning the actions of the Earl of Dundonald, whilst he was acting as General Officer Commanding the Canadian Militia. I enclose herewith copy of the same Order-in-Council, for your lordship's information. I deem it expedient that you should be in possession of all the facts connected with this unfortunate affair, so as to be in a position to discuss it in all its aspects, with Mr. Lyttelton, and also, if need be, with Mr. Arnold-Forster.

Up to this present time I did not deem it advisable to trouble your lordship with this case, otherwise than to send you copy of the Order-in-Council relieving the Earl of Dundonald from his command, and to ask you to communicate it to Mr. Lyttelton.

The document which I now enclose shows that, in the exercise of his functions as General Officer Commanding the Canadian Militia, the Earl of Dundonald gave direct orders to his subordinates to conceal from the Minister of Militia certain information which he was bound to place before him. This document throws a flood of light on the manner in which the Earl of Dundonald understood and practised his duties toward the Minister, under whom he had accepted to

serve, and, indeed, it is impossible to explain how an honourable man, holding the rank and position of the Earl of Dundonald, could justify such an action. The least that can be said of it is that it was an act of disloyalty to his chief, and it may give the cue to other acts of his violation of the King's regulations, which eventually forced the Canadian Government to take the only course with which such deliberate insubordination can be treated.

I abstain from further comments, but I would be obliged if you would interview, first, Mr. Lyttelton, and then Mr. Arnold-Forster, and assure both of them that we regret as much as they do themselves that the action of the Earl of Dundonald left us no alternative, and that the course which we took was dictated by the necessity of maintaining the discipline of the force and of vindicating the authority of the Government.

In reply Lord Strathcona wrote in September from Glencoe: —

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

There has been much delay in carrying out the instructions conveyed to me in your letter, but this was unavoidable as both Secretary Lyttelton and Mr. Arnold-Forster had left London before its receipt, the former for Scotland and the latter for the Continent.

Neither of these gentlemen intends being in London until October, and it was not without some difficulty I at length succeeded in seeing both of them in Scotland.

As to the substance of the conversation I had with Mr. Lyttelton and Mr. Arnold-Forster with regard to

the Lord Dundonald incident, I discussed the matter most fully with both. The former considers that the action of the Commandant, as shown in report of the Privy Council of August 4, was most reprehensible, and would not recommend his having any preferment or appointment at present. The Secretary for War says the Commandant affair does not affect Imperial Government so immediately as it does the Canadian Government whose servant he was and who dealt with his case by dismissing him.

We may, I think, feel assured that they greatly disapprove of the action of Lord Dundonald and there is no fear that anything will be done either by the War Office authorities or the Colonial Secretary in giving preferment or employment to the late Commandant of the Canadian Militia for some time to come. Mr. Arnold-Forster informed me that he has called upon Lord Dundonald for an explanation of his conduct.

Lord Strathcona's friend, Colonel Hughes, however, championed the cause of Lord Dundonald as vigorously as he had denounced General Hutton four years before. In the course of a letter Colonel Hughes asserted: —

The dismissal of Lord Dundonald by Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government and the appointment of a Canadian Major-General of the military forces of the Dominion, if resented by the Imperial Government, may sunder the tie that binds Canada to the Empire.

Happily, the Imperial Government did not resent either.[1]

[1] In the course of a debate in the Canadian Parliament Mr. (now Sir) Robert Borden said: "While I regard this as a very regrettable

Earl Grey's Appointment

It was fortunate that the Imperial tie should be strengthened rather than weakened by the arrival that year of so strong, ardent, and intelligent an Imperialist as Earl Grey, who came to take up the Governor-Generalship, which Lord Minto had, after six notable years, relinquished for the great post of Viceroy of India.

From Sir Wilfrid Laurier

OTTAWA, September 13th, 1904.

I enclose a letter to Lord Grey, our new Governor-General, which I would respectfully ask you to deliver to him personally. I desire that you would at the same time express to Lord Grey that his selection by His Majesty for this most important position has been received by all classes in the country with very great satisfaction.

I have suggested to Lord Grey that it would be extremely desirable that there should be the shortest possible interreign between Lord Minto's departure and his arrival in Canada.

incident, it will not be without benefit to the country, if, in the future, it will lead to the withdrawal of partisan interference in the appointment of officers of the militia, whether that interference may come from the Government now in power or may be sought to be applied by any Government which may come into power in the future. We do not want political interference in military matters in Canada. The people pay a considerable amount for the military service of this country; they are willing to pay that amount for an efficient military service; but we do not want that service to deteriorate or become inefficient by reason of party politics entering into it in any way. We have had this afternoon a confession which indicates that party politics has been entering into it for some time past, on the part of the Minister of Agriculture at any rate." (*Parliamentary Debates*, June 10, 1904.)

Lord Minto intends to sail on the 21st of October, but that date is not fully determined. But whenever Lord Minto sails for England, my opinion is very strong that Lord Grey should also forthwith sail for Canada. I urge this point, because, after the departure of Lord Minto, until the arrival of his successor, matters of routine alone could be attended to, all important questions would have to be deferred, and sometimes great prejudice might arise.

With Mr. Chamberlain's successor at the Colonial Office, the Honourable Alfred Lyttelton, the High Commissioner was on the most cordial terms. During his term the long-desired boon of penny postage to Canada was established, and at a Canada Club dinner, in 1905, Lord Strathcona expressed the earnest hope that before long the Imperial Government would extend the same preference to the postage of newspapers sent from the United Kingdom to Canada.

It would be very greatly appreciated, indeed, if they could have their newspapers sent at a preferential rate, a rate lower than that which had been given to foreign countries. He regarded that as a matter of some importance; for they had coming to them from their neighbours, cousins, and happily, he could also say, their warm friends in the United States, the papers of that country by thousands. They were glad to see the telegrams and news in these papers, but they would prefer to have their own papers from the Mother Country to tell them everything that was of interest to that country, and also to them as members of the same Empire. He trusted that before long they would have that privilege.

This boon was at last granted in 1908 and has been of incalculable advantage to British sentiment and a knowledge of things British in Canada, although it is to be feared that it has not yet exerted a due effect upon the tone of our native newspapers, which, as a prominent Canadian complained to Lord Strathcona, "technically and literately are inferior to those of any other part of the Empire."

Lord Lansdowne to Lord Strathcona

November 23d, 1904.

Owing to the death of a near relative, I find myself with great regret prevented at the last moment from enjoying the hospitality of the Canada Club.

It would have been delightful for me to join in doing honour to a Governor-General-elect, who, as an old friend, I regarded with sincere affection, and for whom, as a public man, I entertain feelings of the greatest respect. Twenty-one years ago I was just arriving in Canada at the commencement of a term of office which I have never ceased to look back upon as one of the happiest and most instructive periods of my life. I recall with pleasure the circumstance that in those days Lord Grey, who was amongst our visitors, already showed keen interest in the Dominion and its affairs. He is, in my opinion, greatly to be envied, and, if I may be allowed to say so, I think the Dominion is to be congratulated on the appointment of one who stands so high in the esteem of all who know him.

Year after year Lord Strathcona sounded at Dominion Day banquets, at which he always presided, the same note, of which neither he nor his

hearers ever tired, the note of jubilation at Canada's material triumphs and confidence in her future prosperity.

The progress of Canada since Confederation has been [he said in 1906] miraculous. In every respect, throughout the reign of Queen Victoria it has progressed. The transcontinental railway, for which many prophesied disaster at the time of its construction, is soon to be supplemented by at least one other similar road. In agriculture, trade, industry, and mining, the country has gone ahead by leaps and bounds.

It was indeed a "growing" time for the once-neglected Dominion.

It seems only a few years since, by a liberal subsidy, Canada obtained a railway across the continent. There had been a prevalent opinion that the enterprise would be most disastrous for those who took it in hand. Last year the gross income of the Canadian Pacific Railway reached £12,000,000 sterling. We now feel assured that there will be abundant work not only for the Canadian Pacific, but for two and perhaps three other transcontinental railways. In a few years I hope there will be steamers crossing from the United Kingdom to Canada in three and a half or four days, so that travellers from this country can reach the Pacific Ocean in eight days, going on thence to Japan and other Asiatic regions, with which Canada was coming into close connection commercially.

Touching the latter project, Lord Strathcona never hid his own confident belief in the commercial success of a twenty-five-knot service between Britain and Canada, devoted to passengers alone,

and his dissatisfaction with anything falling short of that standard. In other words, the most experienced, and, one might add, the most cautious, of Canadians never wavered in his confidence that Canada would not be satisfied with a service in any respect inferior to the best that is provided on the New York route. He even expressed his readiness to subscribe himself £100,000 toward such a service from any British or Irish port that could be justified as the best port for the service, and provided that it were under thoroughly capable and experienced management. In February, 1907, he said: —

I should be very glad if there were a faster service. The present services are very good, and are doing very well, but we want it faster yet. The faster we can go the more we will come together on both sides. There is a real need for a faster service. The numbers of Canadians who come to this country seem to justify the demand. In July last I saw at one time and in one place in London no fewer than twelve hundred Canadians. When we see so many people crossing from the Dominion, we are naturally desirous of securing the best facilities for their transit across the Atlantic.

The "All-Red Route" was a phrase adopted for the sake of brevity to describe a notable scheme of improved inter-Imperial communications which Sir Wilfrid Laurier proposed at the Conference in 1907, and which the Imperial Government accepted.[1]

[1] "That in the opinion of this Conference the interests of the

If [said Sir Wilfrid Laurier] we had on the Atlantic Ocean between Canada and Great Britain a mail service equal in speed and character to the service now in existence between England and New York, there is no doubt, and there can be no doubt at all, that we should save in the journey at least two days, or about two days, inasmuch as we have an advantage in our favour in distance of nearly nine hundred miles.

The President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Lloyd George) was equally emphatic on this point. In his speech to the Conference (May 6) he said: —

The problem that has been suggested to us by Sir Joseph Ward and Sir Wilfrid Laurier and other speakers is to reduce, as far as possible, the natural disadvantage of distance under which we suffer. The prompt and the cheap delivery of foods, perishable articles, and raw materials is a very big factor to the consumer and manufacturer, and it is these commodities which are so largely produced in the Colonies and so largely required in this country. The development and acceleration of inter-Imperial communication for business purposes would undoubtedly be a movement in which all parts of the Empire would share for their mutual benefit. It would result not only in increased facilities for the marketing of goods and for stimulating the development of trade, but in giving important

Empire demand that, in so far as practicable, its different portions should be connected by the best possible means of mail communication, travel, and transportation;

"That to this end it is advisable that Great Britain should be connected with Canada, and through Canada with Australia and New Zealand, by the best service available within reasonable cost;

"And for the purpose of carrying the above project into effect such financial support as may be necessary should be contributed by Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand in equitable proportions." (Resolutions of the Imperial Conference, 1907.)

opportunities to the movement of individuals from one part of the Empire to another. By bringing the distant parts of the Empire nearer to the centre it would make the Empire more compact. All that is an essential element in trade.

He himself had thus explained its advantages:

The All-Red project would be a great thing, not only for Canada, but also for all parts of the Empire; and I earnestly hope to live to see it an accomplished fact. The establishment of an eight-day service between Liverpool and Vancouver, which would be a result of it, would cause large quantities of foreign capital to flow into the country. Many people who are now deterred, by the length of time necessary for the journey, from going so far west as the coast, would, with the establishment of the new service, be led to do so, and the sight of the great resources of the prairie regions would lead them to invest their capital in Canada rather than in foreign countries. It is merely a matter of cost. There is no reason why the thing could not be done if the money were forthcoming. And I think it is a thing worth spending money to accomplish. We spend a great deal on mere local improvements, and here is something that would be a great benefit not only to Canada, but to the whole Empire as well. I think that in such a case we should be very much more willing to disburse the necessary funds. I feel quite confident of its ultimate success. A definite offer has been made by a steamship company to undertake the fast service on the Atlantic, as a part of the project, for a subsidy of £500,000 a year, and the Canadian Government are prepared to bear half of this subsidy, £250,000 a year.

Lord Strathcona

From Sir Wilfrid Laurier

London, 26th April, 1907.

I have thought a good deal upon the subject of a new mail service between England and Canada, and connected with it, a service between Canada and the Orient. This is one of the most important matters that we have had to deal with in many years, and I would attach much importance to your active coöperation in the same. I am strongly of the opinion that if you were to interest yourself with this service it would be made a complete success.

Replying to this Lord Strathcona wrote: —

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

29th April, 1907.

It is a great gratification to me to know that you have under favourable consideration a more expeditious mail service between England and Canada, and also between Canada and the Orient.

Let me say that so fully convinced am I that such a fast mail and passenger service would be one of the most potent factors in the prosperity of the Dominion that I shall most cordially, to the best of my ability, second your efforts in bringing it about.

The "All-Red Route" occupied his attention to the close of his life. He even enjoyed the jest of the eminent surgeon called in to examine his heart and arteries, who tapped him significantly in the cardiac region and remarked, "We must attend to the All-Red Route, my Lord."

The "All-Red Route"

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

15th February, 1908.

For some little time not much has been said about the All-Red Route in the press here, but it is understood that the Government continue to be as well disposed toward it as they were at the time of the Conference.

Immediately on receiving your letters regarding the extension for two years of the subsidy to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company for their steamers from Vancouver to Japan and China, I communicated with the Government, but am yet without their answer. I am, however, to have an interview with Lord Elgin on Monday next, and hope then to learn from him something of a definite character with regard to the views of himself and his colleagues in the matter.[1]

It was in the autumn of 1906 that there occurred the truly remarkable Aberdeen University centenary celebration. As Chancellor, Lord Strathcona was the foremost figure. On the first day he led a great procession through the streets of Aberdeen to the temporary hall erected at his expense. There he received the congratulatory addresses handed in by representatives of many universities

[1] The gross revenue collected by the British Post-Office on the letter and parcel mails despatched from this country by the Canadian Pacific service for the year 1907 was estimated at £35,000. To this should be added a sum of about £3000 received for the conveyance of foreign and colonial mails. The annual subsidy payable to the Canadian Pacific Railway Company was £60,000, of which £15,000 is contributed by Canada and £45,000 by the British Government. The subsidy, of course, did not cover the cost of dealing with the mails in Great Britain.

and learned bodies. There again he entertained at dinner the same representatives and all the graduates of the University who returned for the celebrations, and representatives of the undergraduate body.

It is easy [writes Miss Hurlbatt] for me to recall the persistent voice that succeeded in penetrating to the recesses of that great hall, and to call up again the scene as with quiet dignity he presided over that colossal dinner party. It was my good fortune to be one of only two ladies at the group of high tables (there were, of course, women at the graduate tables, for the University opened its doors to women in 1892) and from a near vantage-point to watch the face of our host.

It was he who received King Edward in the great courtyard of Marischal College, when the latter came to declare open the new buildings that had been erected as the gift of Lord Strathcona himself.

Before Lord Strathcona became Chancellor [wrote Sir William Robertson Nicoll], the Chancellorship was a mere name. The Chancellor of my time took no interest in the University, and did nothing save to meddle once in a foolish way with the Rectorial election. Lord Strathcona's liberality has been unbounded, and he has taken the keenest interest alike in the erection and equipment of the new buildings and in the ceremonies of their opening. He built for the occasion a wooden hall which accommodates between four thousand and five thousand people. There was genuine and wise kindness in this action. For one thing, it enabled many to have a share in the celebra-

tions who could not otherwise have been present. For another, it gave Lord Strathcona an opportunity of entertaining some twenty-five hundred guests. If it had not been for this, no satisfactory provisions could have been made for the multitudes who had a real claim to share in the festivities. Lord Strathcona is indeed a wonder. Though he bears the burden of eighty-six years, he is as erect as ever, as keen, as alert, as eager as the youngest. He speaks with great fluency, but his voice was scarcely strong enough to carry over the immense buildings in which he had to use it. Nevertheless, his speeches, when read, are seen to be graceful in style, and full of wisdom. A famous Irish delegate said to me after the Music Hall gathering: "I was most interested in Strathcona; he is a powerful old fellow."

To us here [says the Principal of Aberdeen University] what Lord Strathcona did for our University comes most directly home. First, as Lord Rector, chosen by students, then as Chancellor, elected by graduates, he gave ungrudgingly his time, thought, and substance — wise words treasured in our memories and our chronicles, generous gifts enshrined in our academic history. His name will ever be associated with those of the elder and younger Mitchells as one of the noble trio whose outstanding munificence and stimulating sympathy enabled the heads of our city and University to bring our Marischal College extension to successful consummation, while in more recent days his endowment of the Chair of Agriculture has supplemented effectively the bounty of the great Carnegie Trust. At our quarter-centenary in 1906, our Chancellor's keen interest and active participation

from first to last in the celebrations evoked universal admiration. And when his bold proposal to gather students, graduates, officials, delegates — *membra quælibet* — into a vast social assembly, as the embodiment of academic unity and brotherhood, when that bold proposal at first met with the response that no hall in our city could accommodate so enormous a throng, we recall how the maker of the Pacific Railway smiled away the mountain of obstacle. "Who art thou, oh Mountain? Before Zerubbabel a plain."

Within three weeks we were commemorating our quarter-centenary in the great Strathcona Hall.

Less imposing to the carnal eye, but invested with a pathos yet more impressive, was our aged Chancellor's memorable visit at the graduation of 1909, when our late lamented Principal lay on that sick-bed over which the angel of death was already hovering. Our grand old man, scorning all risk to health, and with a fine chivalry toward the stricken Principal and the expectant graduates, travelled overnight at, for him, a most busy time to fulfil the Vice-Chancellor's duties, to crown the proud alumni and alumnæ with the cap of academic imprimatur, and to address, amid reverent and unwonted stillness, his never-to-be-forgotten words of encouragement and counsel.

It was on this occasion that Lord Strathcona gave one of the most elaborate feasts of modern times, and at the time the British press gave a detailed account of the whole affair. There was no caterer in Scotland capable of undertaking such a large contract as a dinner to the whole University, so it was let to a London caterer, who made truly Gargantuan preparations in his own establishment

in London and then moved his outfit by special train to Aberdeen — waiters, food, dishes, and everything ready to spread on the tables. The serving-staff numbered six hundred and fifty, and between them they had to supply a mile of tables. There were twenty-five thousand plates of one design in use, twelve thousand glasses, and the entire service was of silver. A feature of the menu was the turtle soup. The dinner cost Lord Strathcona about eight thousand pounds, this including about three thousand pounds as the cost of the temporary hall in which it was held. The platform alone accommodated one thousand guests, and altogether there were present as his guests two thousand four hundred and forty people.

In the autumn of 1907 the unfortunate anti-Japanese riots, which broke out in Vancouver, caused Lord Strathcona to have several consultations with the Foreign and Colonial Offices. Lord Grey sent the following despatch to the Mayor of Vancouver: —

> His Excellency the Governor-General has learned with the deepest regret the indignities and cruelties of which certain subjects of the Emperor of Japan, a friend and ally of His Majesty the King, have been the victims, and he hopes that peace will be promptly restored and all offenders punished.

Although the troubles subsided, Lord Strathcona saw that all was not well in this direction. He was much interested in the statement and proposals which reached him from one of his corre-

spondents, who had studied the whole question, and this remarkable letter he forwarded to Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

While it is futile [the author of the letter wrote] to exaggerate the mob riots with Japanese at Vancouver, there can be little doubt that a repetition of them on a larger scale would jeopardize the status of the present Government of Canada, and England's present alliance with Japan. But racial strife in British Columbia, or indeed in any part of the Dominion, would of necessity, by estranging capital and checking the advent of immigrants, become most serious in arresting the development of Canada.

The fact that Canada has no army or navy of its own, while Japan in its armaments ranks as a first-rate power, might be counterbalanced by the influence and power of England but for two things, first, the actual alliance of England with Japan, which enabled England to denude the Pacific of her battleships, — i.e., the indispensable in maritime war, — and next, England's determination not to interfere with the internal affairs of her Colonies, and to retain only a nominal suzerainty.

This non-interference should enable Canada to make (with England's knowledge) a commercial treaty with Japan to the benefit of both countries, and an essential part of such treaty would be the regulation and restriction of Japanese immigrants, both as to number and system of supervision.

White men refuse to compete with Asiatic labour, and their present condition of life and habits freely justify them if, indeed, they are right in saying, "This is the white man's country and we mean to keep it so."

The Japanese retort, "You forced *your* way into *our* country, now we only assert our rights to do likewise."

To reconcile interests and to find a *modus vivendi* both for Canadians and Japanese, I would foster manufactures (where coal permits) in the first instance, and so give employment and profit to Japanese, who might otherwise work in the lumber trade and fisheries as they do to-day. But the white man should alone own and work the soil, unless, in the course of time, the Canadian Government is willing conditionally to permit the Japanese to become British subjects and make their allegiance to the British Empire. They would then, of course, have votes.

Furthermore, to remove prejudice and racial feeling, I would establish a Canadian-Japanese College for general and technical knowledge, where all boys would be on the same footing.

Ever most tenacious was Lord Strathcona of the dignity and attributes of the office of High Commissioner. He disliked intensely the prospect of Canada's representation at the seat of Empire being frittered away into subordinate cliques. Yet he was made constantly aware of the desire on the part of the Agents-General of the different Provinces to raise their status and consequence, which, of course, could only be at the expense of the higher office. Some years ago, Sir Richard McBride, the Premier of British Columbia, intervened on behalf of his Agent-General, the Honourable J. H. Turner, whose personal claims were, in addition, regarded as somewhat more favourable, in that he had formerly himself held the office of Premier of the Province.

Lord Strathcona

From the Honourable Richard McBride

VICTORIA, B.C., January 4th, 1908.

As you are no doubt aware, through conversation with Mr. J. H. Turner, he has felt that it would be advisable were the office of the Agent-General to receive official recognition from the Imperial Government, as it would be of assistance in his work were such the case. I discussed the matter fully with him while he was here last autumn, and we both felt that such recognition would be beneficial in his position and would meet with your approval.

Consequently the Executive Council to-day passed an Order-in-Council requesting the Dominion Government to bring the matter to the attention of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, with a view of securing the desired official recognition of the Imperial Government. I would be pleased if you would kindly use your good offices to assist.

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Lord Strathcona wrote, deploring any such action: —

I cannot but think that any such action as that recommended by Mr. McBride would be a retrograde movement and opposed to the spirit of the federation of the Provinces of the Dominion; and one which, if acceded to, might readily tend to confusion and even to embarrassment.

And in this view he was upheld by the Dominion Government.

Provincial Agents-General

To the Honourable Richard McBride

March 8th, 1907.

Let me say at once that I have always been most willing and desirous, both officially and personally, to further the interests of British Columbia in common with the other Provinces of the Dominion, by every means in my power; but if Mr. Turner was under the impression that I had ever given expression to views favourable to an extension of the powers of the Provincial representatives in London, he was certainly under a misapprehension.

As you are well aware, under the terms of the British North America Act, there is no provision for such representation as is sought, and, in my view, any extension of the present principle could only operate unfavourably.

Doubtless you have given much attention to the matter, and will be well aware of the constitutional difference between the States of Australia and that of the Provinces of Canada. However attractive the status of the representatives in London of the several Australian Governments may appear to be, in practice it can hardly be said to have worked satisfactorily or smoothly, and in this matter Australia is confronted by an awkward problem, as yet unsolved, but undoubtedly one which might be productive of great embarrassment; and I do not think the interests of Canada would be promoted by retrograding to the condition of affairs which our Australian friends have to contend with and which they regard with anything but equanimity.

I have delayed answering your letter, but think it well now to write to you thus frankly. Of course the matter is one for the Government of Sir Wilfrid

Laurier to decide, and we shall doubtless be made aware, in due time, of the course it may be determined to follow.

What that decision was, may be gathered from the following passage in Sir Wilfrid's subsequent letter: —

Let me say at once that I altogether approve of your attitude in this matter and I absolutely share the views you have expressed to Mr. McBride.

When the present King, then Prince of Wales, visited Quebec in 1908 on the occasion of the Tercentenary celebration, there was some anxiety lest the visit should be marred by any untoward incident. More than ordinary precautions were deemed necessary. Police officers were sent to Quebec more than three weeks ahead of the Prince, so that they might have time to pick up any available information.

From Sir Edward Henry

May 31st, 1908.

Under ordinary conditions no one would be apprehensive of an outrage taking place on Canadian soil, but as Quebec is within comparatively easy distance of certain centres in America where the Clan-na-Gael flourishes, an organization very embittered against all British institutions, we must not overlook the possibility of the prince's visit being deemed a suitable opportunity for some form of hostile demonstration by some of its members.

This is the view we have independently formed, and

as the same view is held by our Consulate General in New York, it is one that cannot be lightly put to one side. We think it highly advisable, therefore, that all police officers should be on the alert so as to be informed of the arrival of American emissaries, with the object of keeping them under really effective supervision, thereby frustrating the execution of any plan they may have formed.

Luckily, nothing happened; but Lord Strathcona himself, on his visit to Quebec, could not help being reminded of former occasions when fear of the Fenians was uppermost in the minds of Canadians.

In the summer of 1909 Lord Strathcona made an extended tour of Canada with two of his grandchildren, Mr. Donald Howard, who is heir to his mother, now Baroness Strathcona, and Miss Howard, now Mrs. Kitson. They travelled from coast to coast, and made many side expeditions. In Winnipeg it was arranged that he should act the host while the British Association for the Advancement of Science held its meeting there in old Fort Garry, the scene of so many years of his labour. Rarely in history has a populous city paid so enthusiastic a tribute, even to one of its sons, as was paid to Lord Strathcona by Winnipeg, on the occasion of this visit. Something, of course, must be allowed for the natural exuberance of the youthful West, but when all is conceded, it was still a unique manifestation of personal regard.

On the evening of his arrival the streets in the vicinity of the station were choked with humanity;

his carriage had a military and musical escort, and along the route, two miles long, from the station to Government House, lit up by electricity, were cheering multitudes. For several days the population was *en fête* in his honour. Welcoming banners hung across the leading thoroughfares — thousands daily wanted to catch merely a glimpse of the white hair and benignant features of the object of their adoration. Bevies of maidens waited on him with flowers. At the banquets and public receptions his appearance was hailed by deafening cheers, followed by a wonderful silence when he opened his lips to speak. His lightest word was received as sanctified incense. Every movement — nay, almost every gesture of the patriarchal figure was chronicled in the newspapers. Day succeeded day, and still the populace of Winnipeg did not tire of acclaiming "Strathcona!"

Forty years before he had entered Fort Garry almost furtively to become the prisoner of Louis Riel. On the site of Fort Garry there is now upreared a noble building, ten stories high, bearing its name, with corridors of marble and replete with beautiful furniture and every luxury. How great the contrast a night's lodging here to the wretched accommodation, which, in 1869, was the lot of Donald Smith!

Leaving Winnipeg, several visits were made to points in the West, including British Columbia, where his uncles, John and Robert Stuart, had long adventured. During one of these expeditions in the Okanagan Valley, he incurred what might

easily have been a serious or fatal accident to one of his eighty-eight years. A wagonette and a pair of horses overturned down a hill, and literally shot the four or five occupants, including Lord Strathcona, out on to the bank and field. The driver had both legs broken. Lord Strathcona was quite unhurt, excepting for a cut and strain of the hand and arm, which he carried in a sling for some weeks afterwards.

Lord Strathcona had been Canada's High Commissioner in the United Kingdom for a full decade, with infinite advantage to Canada and the Empire.

The Duke of Argyll to the Author

KENSINGTON PALACE.
[21st April, 1906.]

It was a happy thought of yours to mark Lord Strathcona's decade as High Commissioner by a testimonial from Canadians living in London and I hope it will be taken up. He has done so much for others that it will be a change for others to do a little something for him.

Having canvassed the Anglo-Canadian community, the idea was duly "taken up." But it was not until the autumn of the following year that the Duke of Argyll, acting on behalf of the subscribers, presented to his lordship a beautifully executed centre-piece illustrative of the various phases of his career. It was on that occasion recalled with interest that the Duke first met Lord Strathcona thirty years before, when the Mr. Donald Smith of that day was strenuously engaged

in building the foundation of trade and commerce and civil administration in what was then the untamed wilderness of Manitoba, of whose first Provincial Legislature he was a prominent member.

It was in this year that he made a splendid gift for the benefit of the young people of the Dominion. The announcement was made in Parliament by Sir Frederick Borden, the Minister of Militia, that Lord Strathcona would contribute $250,000 to create a fund of $10,000 a year for the encouragement of physical and military training in the public schools of the Dominion. Applause greeted the announcement from both sides of the House and by unanimous resolution the thanks of Parliament and the people of Canada were tendered to the donor.

In conveying the gift, he wrote: —

To Sir Frederick Borden

While I attach the highest importance to the advantages of physical training and elementary drill for all children of both sexes, I am particularly anxious that the especial value of military drill, including rifle-shooting for boys capable of using rifles, should be constantly borne in mind. My object is not only to help to improve the physical and intellectual capabilities of the children by including habits of alertness, orderliness, and prompt obedience, but also to bring up the boys to patriotism, and to the realization that the first duty of a free citizen is to be prepared to defend his country. The Dominion at the present time, and for many years to come, can hardly hope to be

able to give so long a period of training to her military forces as by itself would suffice to make them efficient soldiers, but if all boys had acquired a fair acquaintance while at school with simple drill and rifle-shooting, the degree of efficiency which could be reached in the otherwise short period which can be devoted to the military training of the Dominion forces would, in my opinion, be enormously enhanced.[1]

Of Sir Robert Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Movement, he said it was "one of the finest plans for the betterment of the race that has been evolved in our time."

[1] He himself was four times a colonel. In 1898, he was appointed honorary lieutenant-colonel of the Victoria Rifles, Montreal, a tribute to the interest he had taken in the military movement in Canada. In 1902, he became honorary colonel of the Eighth Volunteer Battalion of the King's Liverpool Regiment. In 1909, he was honoured by being made honorary colonel of the Fifteenth Light Horse, and in 1910, he received the honorary colonelcy of the Seventy-ninth Highlanders.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE CLOSING DAYS

1910–1914

It was not altogether unnatural, nor indeed unexpected, that after enjoying so long a term of public favour as the most popular of the Colonies, a reaction should supervene in some quarters, and that Canada should suffer occasional detraction. Lord Strathcona was so jealous of Canada's good name that every such attack filled him with indignation. "I don't care what they say of myself," he once told Mr. Alfred Lyttelton. "I am accustomed to abuse and to having my character assailed, although I get less and less of this as I grow older. But they must not abuse Canada while I am alive to defend her."

To him, so long had he been sounding the praises of the vast Dominion, of her mountains and prairies, her railways, her wheat-fields, her institutions and the loyalty of her people, that he grew to believe, in every line of every stanza, all that he sang. The praises of Canada on a stranger's lips gave him as much pleasure as if of himself or of his own family circle. This high ideal of patriotism he exacted from others.

His Resentment at Calumny

To N. F. Davin, M.P.

I do not think Mr. ———, if he had reflected on the effect of his words, would have uttered them at this time. However, one may be tempted by pique or a sense of neglect, it is far better to be silent than to asperse one's own country amongst strangers.

Once a London journal published an unusually violent attack, of which the following is an extract:

Canada is at this moment making every endeavour to entice young able-bodied Englishmen to her dominions; her agents are scouring the country with specious promises and glowing reports, which are attracting young men by the thousands to try their luck in her western regions, which are nothing more or less than death-traps for all but those who go out well provided for. Train-loads of raw lads, with from £10 to £100 in their pockets as their sole possession, and the barest of ordinary outfits, are being dumped into her western towns. In these towns they are compelled to stop until the snow and slush have disappeared, perhaps for a month or six weeks, or longer, the cost of living alone being six shillings a day. The majority get to the end of their resources before they can be moved to the particular claim district to which they are bound.

Once on the spot, their condition is pitiable in the extreme. Penniless, and without the means to move their small belongings, they have to scour a vast district in semi-starvation in search of work or for a likely claim. They are useless for skilled work, and so most homesteads pass them by.

At first Lord Strathcona was so angry as to contemplate taking legal action at once. Afterwards

he thought of visiting the office of the paper and insisting upon an immediate disavowal of the libel.

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

16th December, 1910.

The article is an instance of journalistic depravity much to be deplored, yet, so far, at any rate, I can come to no other conclusion in regard to the matter than that to take any official action would simply serve the ends of the proprietors of the journal without any corresponding benefit to Canada, and would only encourage them to proceed still further in their libellous course.

I am bound to add, however, that a feeling of indignation in regard to the articles has been aroused in Canadian circles, and should you, while concurring generally in my view, think that some action ought to be taken, I shall be glad to hear from you by cable. The trouble is that Mr. ——— of course knows well that a nation cannot be libelled in the legal sense, and that we are thus debarred from taking the only measures to which a gentleman would be amenable.

He himself was constantly, as we have seen, being dragged into the arena of party politics and more than once was obliged to issue a denial of views attributed to him in the newspapers.

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

London, 16th December, 1909.

I find by press reports that my name is used in reference to the present political contest in the United Kingdom. It is well known in this country that I am

never interviewed. I have not in this instance departed from this rule and have had no interview with any one. If I had any opinion to express on the present contest I would claim the privilege of doing it in my own words, but I would consider it absolutely out of place for me to say or do anything which might be considered ever so remotely as an interference in any party contest now before the electors of Great Britain and Ireland. Please cause this to be published in such manner as you think best.

For some time — ever since his memorable and triumphal progress through the West — he had been far from enjoying his usual health. The injury to his right arm caused by the accident at Vernon prevented him from writing. "I am still very deaf," he tells Sir Wilfrid, toward the close of the year, "from the effects of a concussion caused by the report of a cannon fired at a short distance from my ear some months back." He decided that the time had at last come for him to resign the High Commissionership and he wrote to this effect to the Prime Minister. In reply Sir Wilfrid earnestly begged him to reconsider his decision.

From Sir Wilfrid Laurier

15th March, 1910.

I am in receipt of your favour of the 5th instant wherein you express the desire to be relieved as High Commissioner for Canada, on the 1st of July next. I keep this letter to myself and will not communicate it to anybody until I hear again from you that it is your absolute and settled determination.

In the mean time let me express the hope that you will reconsider the question. I make due allowance for the fact that you may desire at your time of life to be disconnected with the duties of the office. Permit me to observe, however, that your resignation will be the cause in Canada of universal regret, and I still hope that you may defer this determination.

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

LONDON, 8th April, 1910.

For your most kind letter of the 15th, in acknowledgment of mine of the 5th March last, I thank you very much, and very cordially do I appreciate the terms in which you refer to my desire to be relieved as High Commissioner for Canada, on the 1st of July next.

I have felt it the more desirable that the date of demitting my present charge should not be left altogether indefinite, as I am still inconvenienced and suffering somewhat from the effects of the accident to my right arm at Vernon, in September last, and of a subsequent slighter injury to the other arm from a motor collision here.

It is, however, needless for me to say that I am truly grateful for your consideration and kindness to me now as on all occasions, and in deference to your wish that I will reconsider the question, I would suggest that instead of the 1st of July, my resignation should take effect at the end of the fiscal year, 31st March, 1911, or with the close of the present calendar year 31st December, as may be most convenient for you in appointing my successor.

A few weeks later King Edward died. "The loss," he wrote on the day of the King's death,

"sustained by the Empire by the death of His Majesty would have been heavy in any circumstances, but, coming as it does at this juncture of affairs, it is indeed a great calamity."

For Edward VII Lord Strathcona had always a great personal regard, and this was reciprocated by the Sovereign, who had long been deeply interested in the career of "dear old Uncle Donald," as he affectionately spoke of him. "Here comes Uncle Donald," His Majesty once exclaimed, seeing the High Commissioner approach at a garden party, but without his wife, "but where is 'Our Lady of the Snows'?"

Between Queen Alexandra and Lord Strathcona the bond of personal affection and of veneration, on the one hand, and of a chivalrous loyalty, on the other, was very noticeable.

For some years, owing to the "tariff war," following on the denunciation in 1897, at Canada's instance, of the existing commercial treaty, relations between Germany and Canada had not been friendly. This era seemed now over, and in October, 1910, Lord Strathcona again visited Germany to take part in the Berlin celebrations which marked the centenary of the leading university of Germany. Every university of mark throughout the world sent its representative; to few, if any, was more honour paid than to the nonagenarian who combined the Chancellorships of McGill and Aberdeen with the High Commissionership for Canada in Europe. Lord Strathcona was the bearer of cordial greetings from the Canadian university to the seat

of learning which began its career when the Prussian capital was in the occupation of French troops. As the Chancellor of Aberdeen University, Lord Strathcona had also had the pleasing task of laying a memorial wreath sent by that university upon the statue in the Wilhelmsplatz of Field Marshal James Keith, one of Frederick the Great's officers, a Scotsman, who, from 1711 to 1715, was a college student at Aberdeen.

Being, moreover, the senior representative present, he was selected as the spokesman for the universities of the United Kingdom and the Empire as a whole, and on their behalf conveyed to the Berlin authorities a message of cordial greetings and congratulations.

He could not but be aware, while in Berlin, of the striking prepossession of the governing classes for war, even in the midst of profound European peace; but expressed the hope, in one of his letters, that the military skill and resources of the German people would never be put to the test. While he had confidence in the power and wish of the Emperor for peace, he thought that after him any danger there was lay with the Junker party, led by the Crown Prince. But these hot-headed young men would grow mature, and after all it was "so obvious that Germany's best interests now would be served by peace and industrial activity."

On a wintry day at the beginning of January, 1911, he journeyed down to Westerham, in Kent, in defiance of his doctor's orders, to participate in the ceremony of the unveiling, by Lord Roberts, of

the statue to General Wolfe.[1] For an hour he stood bareheaded in the open air on a platform, occasionally swept by sleet, and afterwards spoke at a public luncheon, proposing Lord Roberts's health.

To-day we have Canada before us all in this memorial of the services rendered by Wolfe one hundred and fifty years ago. It is, perhaps, somewhat humiliating to us that those services have not been so recognized earlier, as they ought to have been, for did not Wolfe's victory give to Great Britain the Dominion of Canada as the first nation within the Empire? Lord Roberts [he added] was himself one of those great captains who have given us an Empire within an Empire in India — and the name of Lord Roberts will ever continue to be with us a household word.

Deeply did he regret the fatal step taken by the Laurier Ministry, early in 1911, in connection with commercial reciprocity with America. He saw instantly that, regarded as Canada's national policy, the step was a backward one. Yet he strove loyally to put the best face on the matter of which it was capable.

Canada is free [he pointed out] to do anything she may desire, by legislation, in respect of British preference. The agreement does not prevent her in any way from doing that. It is not in the form of a treaty; but assurances of concurrent legislation are mutually given, and while the reductions made by Canada are comparatively small, those made by the United States, owing to their high tariff, are very considerable.

[1] He had early joined a committee of which I was secretary, and together with Lord Roberts had personally assisted in drafting an appeal to the nation on behalf of a memorial to Wolfe.

I repeat that the agreement does not, and will not, prevent Canada from making any preferential arrangements with the Mother Country or with any of the overseas dominions which she may consider desirable.

In no sense will the ultimate effect of the agreement be to weaken the bonds which unite Canada to the Empire. The arrangements on the Canadian side apply to articles which are obtained mainly from the United States, and only in one or two classes from England.

Nevertheless, as the Liberal plan of campaign developed, an opposition arose throughout the length and breadth of Canada to the Taft-Fielding proposals, amongst which nearly all Lord Strathcona's former commercial associates in the Dominion were numbered. Yet even then he permitted no expression of opinion of his to appear. He indignantly cabled to Sir Wilfrid Laurier in March: —

To Sir Wilfrid Laurier

11th March, 1911.

The statement attributed to me by Mr. Goodeve in the House of Commons, Ottawa, on the 9th instant, as reported in to-day's London *Times* by their Ottawa correspondent, that I had said "that the Canadian Ministers had been hypnotized by the brilliance of the American offer and had fallen into a trap," is entirely baseless and without foundation in fact. It is unwarranted by anything I have ever said in connection with the Reciprocity Agreement, which I have refrained from discussing. Will you kindly make this known in the House?

Reluctantly, at last, at the Dominion Day Banquet in that year, at which H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught made his appearance as Governor-General, designated to succeed Earl Grey, did Lord Strathcona allow Sir Wilfrid to announce his resignation of the post of High Commissioner which he had held for fifteen years: —

I shall never forget the general blank looks of concern and dismay which greeted that announcement [recalls Major-General Hughes]. I went to him afterwards and told him in the strongest terms, he should not — must not, resign. "But," he said, deprecatingly, "they want my resignation, do they not? I am now nearly ninety-one. It is fitting that I should make way for a younger man." I told his lordship that no one in Canada wanted him to resign — that his resignation would be a national calamity, and that in any case he must await the issue of the impending elections.

The Canadian elections duly took place in September. Lord Strathcona took the liveliest interest in the progress of the campaign, especially the appearance of his friend, Sir William Van Horne, in the rôle of political orator, for the ex-President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, in company with many other eminent men of affairs, exerted all their powers of persuasion to prevent the conclusion of a pact which seemed to them inimical to the present and future welfare of Canada.

On the 21st, the issue was decided against the Laurier Government, which had been in power since 1896. A few days later and the Ministers tendered

their portfolios to the Governor-General, Earl Grey, who called upon Mr. Robert Laird Borden to form a Ministry.

Scarcely was the result known than the High Commissioner undertook a trip to Canada to salute the new Prime Minister and to place his office at his disposal. Concerning his official relations with Lord Strathcona, Sir Robert Borden writes me: —

When I visited London, while leader of the Opposition in 1909, he was most kind and attentive in every way. I was struck at that time with an almost pathetic earnestness in the discharge of even the minor duties of his office. To this I alluded in speaking in the House of Commons upon the occasion of his death.

Returning to London after a garden party and dinner at some distance in the country, I found that Lord Strathcona had called on me in Brown's Hotel and was then engaged with the Honourable Frank Oliver. Having sent word to him that I had returned, I was shortly afterwards informed that he would like to see me; and going downstairs at midnight I had a long conversation with him, in the course of which I learned that he was engaged in a somewhat acrimonious correspondence with the Lord Chamberlain respecting an invitation for myself and my wife for the approaching State Ball. As you are aware, no person is entitled to be invited to such a ball unless he or she had first been presented; and my wife and I had not enjoyed that honour. But Lord Strathcona had taken the ground that, in view of my position as leader of a political party in Canada, this prerequisite should not be insisted upon. It was with the greatest difficulty that I induced him to forego any further effort or corre-

spondence; and he acceded to my wish only after he had become convinced that my wife and I earnestly desired to go for a proposed holiday in the country.

During my visit as Prime Minister in 1912 he was in evidence on every occasion. He met us at the station upon our arrival in London; he regularly called upon us at our hotel; when I left London to visit Paris, I found him (to my great astonishment) waiting for me at the hotel door early in the morning in order to accompany me to the train. On that occasion he reproached me for not having given him formal notice of my departure; and he seemed to feel that his failure to attend would have been almost a disgrace. He was so earnest on the subject that when I returned from Paris, I gave him by telegraph the formal notice which he desired, and of course I found him again at the station to meet us.

During the autumn before his death he visited Canada and I discussed with him then, as well as in the summer of 1912, his continuance as High Commissioner. On both occasions I strongly urged him to continue the discharge of his duties, and I offered him an additional secretary or secretaries to be selected by himself, and otherwise I assured him that any arrangements to lighten his labours would be willingly made by the Government. At my most earnest request he continued to discharge the duties of his high office.

To Honourable Robert L. Borden

London, 19th October, 1912.

We all felt sure that your welcome back to Canada would be of the warmest character throughout, seeing how worthily the Dominion was represented during your stay here.

I can quite understand that the large accumulation of public business during your absence will occupy you very closely for some weeks, and I cannot think of troubling you with more than a few words at the present moment.

To my wife and myself it was a great disappointment that we had not the pleasure of welcoming you in our Scottish home of Glencoe, but we knew how impossible it was for you to put aside even for a day or two the exacting work which occupied you during your whole stay in England; and we can only hope that we may be more fortunate when next you cross the Atlantic, and that Mrs. Borden and you may then be able to stay with us for a few days.

In the following month he writes with reference to the commemoration, in St. Paul's Cathedral, of the one-hundredth anniversary of the death of Sir Isaac Brock, the hero of Queenstown Heights: —

The presence of so many distinguished men on the occasion shows that Canada is now much more in the minds of the people of the United Kingdom than it ever was before, and that, as you so well observe, the great event commemorated is regarded as having a profound influence on the destiny of the Dominion as an integral part of the Empire.

At the Royal Society of Arts, Adelphi, London, on November 15, 1912, Lord Sanderson, on behalf of the Duke of Connaught, president of the society, presented the society's Albert Medal to Lord Strathcona, "for his services in improving the railway communications, developing the resources, and pro-

moting the commerce and industry of Canada and other parts of the British Empire."

Lord Sanderson read a message from the Duke of Connaught in which His Royal Highness said: —

In my present office of Governor-General of Canada I have had special opportunities of fully realizing the great services Lord Strathcona has rendered to the Dominion, and to the industrial and commercial progress of the British Empire. As an old friend of many years' standing I rejoiced that, as president of the Society of Arts, I had been able to add another mark of appreciation of his long and valuable career of usefulness.

No one was more rejoiced than Lord Strathcona at the announcement by the new Prime Minister of a measure of assistance to the Imperial navy.

To the Honourable R. L. Borden

7th December, 1912.

Your announcement of Canada's Naval Emergency Policy has naturally been of profound interest. Mr. Bonar Law, M.P., has given notice that in the House of Commons on Monday, the 9th instant, he will ask "when the Government will afford the House a suitable opportunity of expressing its deep appreciation of the public spirit and patriotism displayed by His Majesty's Dominions overseas in contributing toward the efficiency of Imperial defence."

No doubt a sympathetic answer will be given and an opportunity afforded for the House of Commons to express its appreciation of Canada's splendid gift.

To the Honourable R. L. Borden

4th February, 1913.

As you are aware, the attention of the public during recent months has been called rather persistently, by the press and by the speeches of prominent men, to the extent to which Canada has been drawing money from this country. Lord Faber complains of the neglect of gilt-edged securities at home. During last month over forty millions sterling had been found for new companies, against twenty-two millions in January last year, and twenty millions in January, 1911, and only five millions had been placed in this country. Twenty-nine millions had gone to the Colonies and ten millions to foreigners. Nearly the whole of the twenty-nine millions had gone to Canada. He did not want to be an alarmist, because he had a great opinion of Canada, but there should be a moderation in all things. As an illustration of the position he mentioned, a certain bank had to collect a bill of about five hundred pounds from a Canadian corporation, and the bill came back unpaid, with a request that it should be presented again when the corporation had obtained the proceeds of a loan from England. It was a very serious matter. Certain financial papers have suggested that it was good for trade to have money invested abroad, but we ought first to see that we had sufficient money for the home trade without a high bank rate. No doubt new taxes and the fear of war, which he hoped would never take place, had driven capital away from this country.

The position of Canada here at present is rather susceptible to adverse rumours and requires careful attention.

In truth, proof was almost daily forthcoming that the old days of unquestioned acceptance, when the great Dominion ("the Mayfair of the Colonies") bounded fresh and blooming into the hearts and stock-markets of Britain, were now over. Yet his sanguine faith continued as ever.

The Honourable W. T. White to the Honourable R. L. Borden

OTTAWA, February 18, 1913.

I return herewith Lord Strathcona's letter of the 4th instant, which I have read with much interest. I still hold the view, notwithstanding Lord Faber's opinion, that the money stringency will gradually abate, and, while there may be a wholesome check for some months, that in due course British capital will be attracted here in as large or larger volume than in the past.

To the Honourable R. L. Borden

21st February, 1913.

An anonymous letter has appeared in the *Economist* dealing unfairly with the question of Canadian crops and wheat production. It puts forward official figures showing decreased acreage under field crops and wheat —asserts land is going out of cultivation. The answer to this could be that over a million and a quarter acres of fall wheat and hay and clover meadows were winter-killed and that considerable areas hitherto devoted to wheat were diverted last year to oats, barley, and flax.

To disclose these facts in an official communication controverting the *Economist* and disclosing the

extent of the area of winter-killed wheat might be even more prejudicial to Canada than the statement of the *Economist*, which, although an important paper, has only limited circulation. The position here is delicate — quantities of undigested municipal and other securities not alone Canadian are causing embarrassment to underwriters; and in my view there is danger that an official communication might precipitate an unfortunate controversy. Canadian interests generally are in satisfactory position — the prospects of British emigration indicate that the available transportation facilities will be taxed to the utmost during the coming season. Therefore, while recognizing the seriousness of the attack in the *Economist*, after careful consideration I am inclined to the opinion that we had better refrain from officially controverting it; but I would greatly appreciate an expression of your view.

Mr. Borden wrote: —

My colleagues, and I, entirely concur in your view respecting the anonymous letter in the *Economist*. Any official answer or explanation is quite inadvisable.

Lord Strathcona wrote later: —

It seemed fairly clear that the author of the letter had written with animus, and as the *Economist* is one of the leading financial journals here, it was not a matter which could be passed over unconsidered. I came to the conclusion, however, that the explanation, owing to its nature and the fact that it would be given in an official communication, would be more harmful than the anonymous letter, as it might not only provoke a controversy, but would probably be widely quoted by other journals and newspapers, and thus

give great prominence to an abnormal condition the knowledge of which would otherwise be confined to a very limited number. I am glad to learn that you and your colleagues agree in thinking it best to allow the attack to pass unanswered.

He was equally concerned when a statement appeared in a London daily paper to the effect that the Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada had come to an understanding with the leaders of the Unionist Party in the United Kingdom in regard to the fiscal policy of the latter country.

This statement [he wrote] was so foreign to what I believed to be the truth that an early opportunity was taken of placing the matter before Mr. Borden, and I send you a copy of a letter I have received from him on the question. In the political development of the Empire in recent years no principle has become more firmly established than that each Dominion should be entirely untrammelled in the management of its affairs.

From the Honourable R. L. Borden

OTTAWA, January 20, 1913.

I beg to acknowledge your letter of January 3, respecting the controversy which has arisen in the United Kingdom respecting the policy of food taxes, in the course of which assertion has been made that I had entered into some understanding, arrangement, or agreement with the leaders of the Unionist Party in respect to that question. I hardly need to assure you that any such assertion is most absolutely and unqualifiedly untrue. Inasmuch as the fiscal policy

of the United Kingdom is a question of domestic concern, we most carefully refrained from discussing the subject in public and from any arrangement, understanding, or agreement with either party thereon.

The extraordinary vigour and industry of Lord Strathcona's old age had become proverbial. He was accustomed to attend at his office in Victoria Street, for many hours daily, whenever in or near London. "I have breakfast at 9 A.M. and dinner at 9 P.M.," he would say, "and that gives me eleven hours daily for work." He was a constant diner-out, both publicly and privately, but ate and drank always very sparingly. His watchword was "duty" and he systematically did it as quietly as possible, never losing his temper or "fussing."

He never ceased work, and one of the many stories told of him related to an occasion in 1906 when he had been advised to give himself a rest from his labours.

"You will be gratified to learn," Sir Thomas Shaughnessy told an Anglo-Canadian gathering in London, "that, yielding to the earnest entreaties of Sir Thomas Barlow, Lord Strathcona has decided to relax his energies. He has succumbed to the united pressure of his medical man, his family, and his friends, and has been induced to promise to leave his office at 7.30 each evening instead of 7.45."

His habit of long hours became so well known, that amongst the other Colonial Government offices in Victoria Street that of Canada was called "The Lighthouse," because a light was to be seen

burning in his room long after other premises were shrouded in darkness.

Work and duty might be considered the two predominating keynotes of his life. He himself said, indeed, that hard work was the best tonic a man could have. "When he has his duty to do, he has n't time to think of himself, nor to allow himself any indulgences which will make him slack and spoil him for good work." And so Lord Strathcona kept the Spartan tenor of his way.

Repeatedly had he offered his resignation to the Government: his family and friends ardently wished him to retire. To their solicitation was added that of his physician. His life-work was over. "It is good," says the Dutch proverb, "for a man to end his life ere he die."

To the Honourable R. L. Borden

London, 8th February, 1913.

Deeply sensible am I of the very kind and far too indulgent terms in which, in your confidential letter of the 19th December, you refer to my services as High Commissioner, and ask me to dismiss from my mind the idea of retiring which I submitted to you when you were last in London. You with much generosity offer to give me any additional clerical or other assistance I might desire which would make my duties less exacting and less onerous.

But the fact really is that, since I entered the High Commissioner's Office in 1896, the course of events have been such that Canada has become far better known and is now so thoroughly in the minds of the

people that, although the volume of work has largely increased, the duties are really much less exacting than they then were, and the staff, which has been considerably increased, is, as it at present exists, quite capable of coping with the requirements. Let me say that, in deference to the earnest insistence of my medical adviser, Sir Thomas Barlow, I tendered my resignation on two occasions to Sir Wilfrid Laurier when he was Premier, and at my request Sir Wilfrid announced this at the Dominion Day Dinner in London on the 30th June, 1911. The resignation then tendered has never been withdrawn, but when I met you in Ottawa on the 2d October, 1911, you, as Premier, in the most kind words did me the honour of asking me to retain office, and I gladly consented to discharge the duties until it might be convenient for you to appoint my successor, and so it has stood ever since. Almost a year ago, I was very seriously ill, and as Sir Thomas Barlow has been even more insistent than before that I should give up much of the work that I now have in hand, I feel that I ought to act on his advice. I shall therefore be greatly indebted to you if you will kindly relieve me from the duties of the office in May next, when I shall have served seventeen years. Permit me at the same time to give expression to my deep sense of gratitude to yourself and to the members of your Cabinet, as well as to Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues, for the unvarying kindness and consideration and ever ready advice and support you and they have extended to me throughout my long term of service, a service in the interests of Canada which has been to me one of love.

Proposed Canadian Building

To the Honourable R. L. Borden

London, March 22d, 1913.

Am indeed deeply moved by your most kind and far too indulgent message of the 3d instant in reply to my telegram of 3d February. Looking to your great kindness and consideration, I feel that instead of retiring in May next, I should meet your wish that I defer relinquishing the duties of High Commissioner until an opportunity offers of a personal interview with you, and to this I very gladly accede. Let me assure you how sincerely I appreciate your own and your colleagues' kind remembrances and warm wishes for my health and strength, and that these are most earnestly reciprocated on my part.

Amongst the last — indeed, as it chanced to be, the very last — of the many projects he had in hand when he came to be stricken down, was the acquisition of a suitable site for the erection of a building to house the High Commissioner's Office and all the Dominion's interests in London under one roof. For upwards of a year the matter had been in agitation. Personally, he desired no change. The offices in Victoria Street, sombre and inadequate and wholly unsuggestive of Canada as they were, had become endeared to him by years of association. Yet if a change were deemed necessary, he wished the new offices to be close to the Parliament buildings, and in dignified keeping with the position Canada had attained in the Empire. In June, 1912, two emissaries of the Canadian Government arrived in London, the Honourable

George Foster, M.P., and Sir Edmund Osler, M.P. They found him still in bed, but ready to propose that his first outing, after several months' seclusion, should be devoted, with them, to the search of a site.

To the Honourable Robert L. Borden

15th June, 1912.

My recovery from the serious illness which took hold of me in the middle of February last, although what the doctor, Sir Thomas Barlow, considers satisfactory, is very slow, and it is only during the last week or so that I have been able to move about; but within the last day or two I am feeling stronger and better. I may not, however, be quite well enough to meet you at the steamer on your arrival, but shall arrange that Mr. Griffith will be there with all the letters for you, of which there will doubtless be a good many; and when you get here I shall be most happy to be of use to you in any and every way I can.

Let me now thank you and your colleagues for your kind and thoughtful good wishes at a time when I was, owing to the severity of my illness, incapable of giving attention to correspondence myself, but pray believe that I am grateful for your and their kind consideration.

He continued in a further letter: —

To-day we drove to view such sites as, after consideration, were deemed to be eligible. The ones which I think were viewed with most favour were the Westminster Hospital site, and Morley's Hotel, facing Trafalgar Square. As to the latter, we have yet to get full particulars, and the vendors of the hospital site

are holding out for what appears to be a rather high price.

I arranged with Mr. Foster that he should cable you, with a view to ascertaining whether the Provinces would join in a general scheme, in the same way that the Australian States are doing, and if this could be arranged, it would, no doubt, simplify matters.

But the matter dragged along, and in December nothing had been decided. He wrote in that month: —

A personal interview has been arranged for at an early date between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and myself, to discuss the matter of the Westminster Hospital site, which I hear, informally, the British Government may have some idea of acquiring — at least in part, and I will take this opportunity of bringing up the matter that you mention.

I had hoped to have seen Mr. Lloyd George before the Christmas holidays, but it is now scarcely likely that I shall be able to do so before next week, when I will immediately communicate with you.

Meanwhile Earl Grey had launched his pretentious scheme for a Dominions House in the Strand, in which all the representatives of the nations of the Empire should be gathered together. Nothing attracted Lord Strathcona less. His own views on the matter he took no pains to conceal, and was accordingly much relieved when Mr. Borden wrote him in December, 1913, that the Ministry "did not consider the time opportune for expending a very large sum of money." To this letter he replied at some length only three days

before he died. He composed and signed the letter on his death-bed. It was the last he wrote, and there is pathos in this evidence of his devotion to Canada's interests when it is remembered that till then he had done little or nothing in the final arrangements of his own.

To the Honourable R. L. Borden

17th January, 1914.

DEAR MR. BORDEN,—

In view of the circumstances mentioned in your letter I am by no means surprised that you and your colleagues do not consider the time opportune for expending a very large sum of money in connection with the site and buildings for a business home in London for the Dominion of Canada. While less than twenty years ago there was little belief in the future of Canada by men of affairs in the United Kingdom or by the peoples of the world generally, the position is now entirely changed. To-day the Dominion occupies a foremost place in the thoughts of all people, and requires no adventitious advertising of a spectacular character to draw attention to her merits and to the opportunities offered to those from other countries who are capable and determined to make a place in the world in which they can settle down and become prosperous.

An enormously expensive edifice near the Strand, on the plan put before me by Lord Grey, with an elevation overtopping not only the Commonwealth and other buildings in the immediate vicinity, but the dome of the great Cathedral, St. Paul's, I could not possibly regard as other than an unpardonable expendi-

ture, and in my mind such a vast building, with a dominating pinnacle erected as a striking advertisement, would provoke ridicule rather than bring advantage to our great country and its people. I am more convinced every day that it is not in the grand architectural effect of the offices of the Dominion in London that the requirements of the situation are to be found, but in the work that is actually done within them in the interests of the Canadian people.

At the same time a syndicate or company registered as the Exchange of International and Colonial Commerce, Limited, has formally asked me to place before you certain statements in connection with the Aldwych site and their negotiations with Lord Grey, which they consider should be brought to your knowledge, and I enclose the statutory declaration they have forwarded for this purpose.

Believe me to be, dear Mr. Borden,

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

STRATHCONA.

For the greater part of his ninety-third birthday Lord Strathcona had sat at his desk in London working as usual, seeming rather surprised that the numerous journalists, who crowded his office, should take any notice of the fact that he was within seven years of attaining his century of life. "I have no golden rule of my own making," he said; "no secret to practise in living my life. But I might say that I have taken no account of the passing years. I have not counted them as they came and went; I have not considered them as some men do." His last visit to Glencoe was in September,

when he made a prolonged stay. He left Glencoe on the 4th of October accompanied by Lady Strathcona, and few then thought that neither of them would again see their Highland estate with its romantic surroundings, which they cherished so warmly.

But the year was not to pass without his suffering the blow from which he was not destined to recover. The whole Empire, which regarded him with affection and veneration as a type of what was worthiest within it, learnt with regret of the breaking of the tender tie which bound him to his beloved wife.

Lady Strathcona had of late been frail, subject to colds, and much confined to the house. On sunny days she would take short walks in Grosvenor Square, opposite her London home, accompanied by a companion, and her faithful little Yorkshire terrier. On Friday, November 7, she suffered from what at first seemed a usual cold, but it rapidly developed into influenza and pneumonia, and she died on the evening of the 12th in her eighty-ninth year. Thus terminated a union lasting through six decades.

A friend wrote at her death: —

When her ladyship was away from London, Lord Strathcona would allow nothing to stand in the way of his daily message to her. During her last visit to Glencoe, Lord Strathcona was seen, in seeming peril, dodging in and out of the crowded traffic of Victoria Street, opposite the High Commissioner's Office. A Canadian friend, with the kindliest intentions, offered

to escort his lordship to his destination. His help was unnecessary. Hastening into the High Commissioner's Office, this Canadian begged that some one might be sent to do the High Commissioner's message for him. He did not know that the nonagenarian High Commissioner went out every night at that hour to the telegraph office across the way. He would entrust a thousand messages to messengers, but this one message no one was allowed to handle but himself. It went to Lady Strathcona at Glencoe.

She knew what work was and loved to be busy. When you called, you might expect to find her knitting some little woollen presents for her grandchildren or for near friends. Even her husband and daughter knew nothing of many gifts of money and self-knitted goods with which she relieved poverty and distress.

Her last notable exertion was her hurried visit to Canada in the previous August. When, in 1912, Lord Strathcona made his penultimate trip to New York and Montreal, she declared that he should never go again without her. She was, she said, quite as well able to go as he, and nothing could prevent her keeping her word, certainly not the reminder that she had always been a bad sailor, sometimes withdrawing into her cabin on the first day of the voyage, only to leave it when the steamer touched American soil. A visitor referred to this trip when calling upon her shortly before her death, and her remark was, "Yes, I am very glad I went. I long desired to see Canada again. How wonderful it is!"

The memory of Lady Strathcona, which many

Canadians cherish, is of a sunny summer garden party on Dominion Day, in the beautiful expanse of Knebworth Park, where she made welcome her friends and showed her unfeigned delight in the shrill music of the Scottish pipers.

Although a woman of retiring and altogether unostentatious nature, Lady Strathcona throughout her life splendidly seconded her husband in his innumerable acts and schemes for the benefit of the people of Canada and of mankind at large. With her daughter, the Honourable Mrs. Howard, Lady Strathcona gave one hundred thousand dollars to McGill University for the erection of a new wing to the Medical Building. To Queen Alexandra's fund for the relief of the unemployed of Great Britain, she gave liberally, and from time to time her helpfulness was shown in many directions. That in him her death produced a poignant anguish the following affecting letter shows:—

To Sir Charles Tupper, Bart.[1]

28 Grosvenor Square, W.,
17th November, 1913.

My dear Sir Charles Tupper:—

From the bottom of my heart I thank you for your most kind letter of sympathy in the greatest sorrow I have ever experienced. She was my stay and com-

[1] Sir Charles had written: "No poor words that I can command can express the sorrow I feel at learning that the beloved partner of all your joys has been called away. From the first hour of our acquaintance my lamented wife and I were indebted to her for unremitting kindnesses and attention."

forter throughout a long life, and I can hardly yet realize that she has passed away from me. You, my dear Sir Charles, have been through the same trial, and only those who have done so can fully realize what it means, after so many years of dear companionship. I know of the affection which existed between Lady Tupper and my wife, and of her great regard for you, and this makes me the more grateful for your kind thought of me in my sorrow.

I hope that by this time you are feeling better and more comfortable, and with the kindest regards to you, Mrs. Cameron, and all the family, in which Mr. and Mrs. Howard join,

Believe me, my dear Sir Charles,

Yours gratefully and sincerely,

STRATHCONA.

After his wife's death the catarrhal malady, which for some time past had troubled him, increased. He became confined to his room, and on the 17th he was found to be suffering from great prostration, heart failure threatening. His condition continued very grave, with no signs of improvement, and it was stated on the evening of Monday (the 19th) that he was sinking.

Now to the simple piety of his boyhood, in a northern Scottish town long ago, his thoughts on his death-bed returned.

Never shall those who were around him forget the emotion with which they heard him repeat, not many hours before he died, without error, pause, or confusion, the whole of the Second Paraphrase, so dear to Scottish hearts: —

"O God of Bethel, by whose hand
Thy people still are fed."

To-morrow that great hymn, dearest of all hymns to our people throughout Scotland, Canada, and the Empire, will echo down the arches of Westminster Abbey as we bear him to his rest. And we shall remember that, halfway up the nave, under the slab over which he will be carried, rests the body of another Scotsman, David Livingstone, the immortal of another continent. This paraphrase, we are told, Livingstone, when lost and famishing in the desert, would read aloud to himself under the scorching sun, just as, possibly at the very same time, Donald Smith was reading or repeating it on the waste of snows in Labrador. Thus did these two great solitaries meet — in a Scottish hymn, learned at a mother's knee — before the throne of God.[1]

He never rallied, and passed away very peacefully, at five minutes to two on the morning of the 21st of January, in the presence of the immediate members of his family, including Mrs. Howard, his daughter; Dr. Howard, his son-in-law; and Sir Thomas Barlow, his physician, who had been in the house almost continuously for several days.

He made a brave fight for life, full of the desire to conquer his illness. Even on the Saturday preceding his death, when suffering great weakness, when, indeed, his life was despaired of, he summoned all his lingering strength to request that official letters and documents should be sent to his house in Grosvenor Square from the High Com-

[1] The Reverend Archibald Fleming.

missioner's Office, that they might duly receive his official signature.

The news of the High Commissioner's death was at an early hour communicated to the King; the Duke of Connaught, Governor-General of Canada; and the Canadian Government, from whom messages of sympathy and regret at the loss Canada had sustained were duly received.

The moment it became known in the City of London, the Lord Mayor, Sir Vansittart Bowater, despatched the following message: —

The death of Lord Strathcona occasions great grief in the city of London. His devoted services to the Empire entitle him to a lasting grateful appreciation and recognition in the pages of its history, and his long, useful, loyal life affords a grand example to his fellow-countrymen.

The Duke of Argyll telegraphed from Kensington Palace: —

"Our greatest, yet with least pretence," as Tennyson said of Wellington. ARGYLL.

In Canada, the grief at his death was widespread and profound. Flags were flown at half-mast on the Bank of Montreal, at the Windsor Station, the offices of the Grand Trunk Railway, Canadian and Dominion Express Companies, and nearly all the principal business houses in this, the commercial capital of the Dominion, of which he was a citizen.

The Governor-General, H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, despatched the following message: —

Please accept expression of very deep sympathy from the Duchess of Connaught and myself. Lord Strathcona's lofty ideals, his splendid patriotism, as well as his distinguished services as High Commissioner have long been a source of pride and stimulus to his country. Among Lord Strathcona's many great qualities, his truly magnificent generosity was probably the most outstanding and his memory will ever be kept green in the Dominion as the generous man of Canada.

In the Canadian Parliament the Prime Minister moved the adjournment of the House. Said the Right Honourable Mr. Borden: —

It is fitting, I am sure, and all the members of both sides in this House will agree, that we should pay a tribute to the memory of the great Canadian who passed away yesterday. I speak of Lord Strathcona as a Canadian, because, although born across the sea, his life-work was almost altogether carried on in this country, to the service of which he consecrated many years of his life.

He had a notable career, a career marked, especially in the earlier years of his life, by conditions and difficulties more arduous than those which most men are called upon to meet.

When one looks back upon the great span of years, over which his lifetime stretched, one is tempted to recall all that has transpired in His Majesty's Dominion on this side of the Atlantic since Lord Strathcona came to this country at the age of eighteen.

At that time there was much political unrest in Canada, carried in some parts of the country even to

the extent of rebellion. At that time we had not achieved the right of self-government or many of those constitutional liberties which have been developed, and have come into force from time to time. Nearly half the period of Lord Strathcona's allotted existence had passed when this Confederation was formed, and from 1838, when he first came to Canada, during the period of his life which succeeded, he saw what one might call a complete transformation of the northern half of this continent. He had been a prominent figure in the public life of this country before he undertook, at the age of seventy-six, to discharge the duties of the high office of High Commissioner of Canada. My right honourable friend knows, perhaps better than I do, the devotion which Lord Strathcona gave to those duties. I have known many men in my own lifetime who have been inspired by a high sense of duty, but I do not know of any man in my acquaintance and knowledge who has been inspired by a higher conception of duty than was Lord Strathcona. As the weight of years pressed upon him, it was almost pathetic to see the devotion with which he insisted upon performing even the minor duties of his position.

In all the time I have known him, and that was in the later years of his life, I was struck with the fact that time did not seem to have dimmed the freshness of his spirit, the vigour of his will, or his strength of purpose.

The duties of the office which he discharged were always important and sometimes delicate, and it is satisfactory to us to remember that no man more than he had a higher pride in this country, in all that it has achieved, in all that it might achieve in the future, and

no man more than he had a deeper interest in all that concerned the honour, dignity, and interests of Canada, nor was more concerned to do his duty.

I think that the example of his life may well be an inspiration to us Canadians. Some one said many years ago that Thomas Carlyle spent his life preaching earnestness to the most earnest people in the world. It is not for me to speak at length of his great public service; in the office which he filled he performed a great and important public service to Canada and to the Empire.

Besides that, his many benefactions for great charitable purposes are known to all men, so that I do not need to do more than allude to them to-day. I consider that it would be a fitting tribute of respect to his memory that this House should stand adjourned till to-morrow, and I shall move, seconded by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that the House do stand adjourned.

In seconding the motion for the adjournment of the House, Sir Wilfrid Laurier joined the Premier in expressing the deep sympathy of the Canadian people in the loss sustained by the death of Lord Strathcona. He said in part: —

Since Sir John Macdonald, I do not think there has been any Canadian whose loss has occasioned so deep and so universal sorrow. He is mourned by His Majesty, by the authorities of commerce and finance in London whose equal he showed himself to be, by the poor of London for his generosity, by the people of Scotland with whom he remained in close relations to the end, and by Canadians, high and low, rich and poor, of whatever race or creed.

A former Prime Minister, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, paid the following tribute to the memory of Lord Strathcona on learning of his death: —

It is a great loss to the Empire and especially to Canada. He has done so very much for this country, the value of his life and work are well known to every Canadian. We all had the very highest appreciation of Lord Strathcona's ability, and his devotion to this Dominion and to the Empire has been equalled by none. The Government will have difficulty in replacing him.

Said Sir George Ross, ex-Premier of Ontario: —

Canada owes him a great deal for the standing he has given to the High Commissioner's office and for his assistance in directing investments in London and maintaining the honour and credit of the Dominion. It will be no easy matter to replace him with a man of equal generosity and adaptability for the position he has held for so many years.

In his own Province of Quebec, the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition both paid tribute in the Assembly to the work of Lord Strathcona. In moving the adjournment of the House, Sir Lomer Gouin said: —

The death of Lord Strathcona involves a great loss both to Canada and to the Empire. Of him it may be truly said that he was one of the builders of this country, and a national benefactor. He represented us with the utmost dignity in London, and powerfully contributed in making Canada better known in Europe. His splendid works and his many acts of

munificence will perpetuate his memory and fill one of the brightest pages in our annals.

Mr. J. M. Tellier, leader of the Opposition, in seconding the motion, said that the sentiments expressed by the Prime Minister were those of every member of the House. He added:—

Our loss is a heavy one by the death of one who has represented us so worthily in London.

Canada [declared Archbishop Bruchési] has lost her greatest citizen, the Empire a noble son, and humanity a most generous benefactor.

I long ago learned to esteem and honour the great man who has just gone out from amongst us, leaving behind an honoured name, a reputation for unequalled patriotism, and as a Canadian that of an unexampled Empire-builder. Although a much younger man and of a different faith and nationality, I am proud to say, now he has departed, that Lord Strathcona was a generous, broad-minded friend, and on more occasions than one the venerable High Commissioner gave ample evidence of his love for all the races composing this great Dominion and his deep respect for the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith. His donations were especially generous to the poor of this city, and to those he had known in other lands, and although the very large sums were given to other institutions than my own, I hasten to express my gratitude for what he did for our institutions and to myself personally. His lordship gave me ten thousand dollars for the Home for the Incurables, and when Father Quinlan was parish priest of St. Patrick's, Lord Strathcona gave five thousand dollars toward the Catholic High School, to the

great satisfaction of the Irish Catholic faithful of the city. Then, when the noble Canadian peer learned of the Eucharistic Congress, he hastened to place the sum of five thousand dollars to my credit for that splendid manifestation of Catholic faith, and for this alone how could we ever forget Lord Strathcona? He also placed his palatial home at my disposition during the same Congress, and Cardinal Bourne was, while occupying the residence in question, treated by his lordship in a princely manner. During one of my recent trips to the other side of the ocean I was honoured by an invitation to one of his splendid homes in England, and for three days I not only enjoyed his never-ending kindness and hospitality, but I especially learned to appreciate his qualities as a father and as a husband and many other traits which drew him so closely to those who were near and dear to him. They will all deplore the loss that has just fallen upon them.

Truly had he been the friend of McGill University, whose Board of Governors met and passed the following resolution: —

The Board of Governors desires to enter on the minutes of this meeting, convened on the very day of the funeral service at Westminster Abbey, a heartfelt expression of their deep regret for the death of Lord Strathcona, who, in addition to his other important public offices, had held for more than twenty-three years the position of President of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning and Chancellor of McGill University. The members of the Board have felt it an honour to be associated with such a man in the administration of the University, and his

death comes home to each and all of them with a sense of personal loss. It is a matter of satisfaction that, in spite of distance and advancing age, his lordship had felt able to visit the University as recently as September of last year, when he was one of the central figures of the great and historic gathering convened by the American Bar Association. Passing from life now full of years and honours, dying, as it were, in harness, while still in the active discharge, at the metropolis of the Empire, of his official duties as High Commissioner for Canada, he has left behind him memories that will live long in every Canadian heart.

McGill in particular feels under the greatest obligations to her late Chancellor for services rendered during the long period in which he watched over her interests; for his wise counsel, his unfailing generosity, and the inspiration of his noble example.

Said Chief Justice Sir Charles Davidson: —

Strathcona and Rhodes were two magnificent men of our day and generation. We who are still living will not look upon their like again. Thank God that they have been of the brood of the Empire.

We need not fear exaggeration in speaking of Lord Strathcona. In especial degree has he enriched and uplifted Canadian life. May we emulate even if we cannot in the mean while at least reach to the lofty standards of his public and private careers.

He stood supreme in the superbness, constancy, and catholicity of his benefactions. Only when the story of his life is written shall one fully know of how mighty a part he played in his life's ambition, the welding together, with enduring bonds, of all British possessions and the Mother Land.

There should be engraven upon his tomb: "Here lies the great and good Lord Strathcona."

Declared Mr. H. V. Meredith, President of the Bank of Montreal: —

Lord Strathcona's services to Canada and the Empire and his deeds of charity and princely beneficence, will long be remembered and cherished by all Canadians. His connection with the Bank of Montreal as Director, Vice-President, President, and Honorary President, extended over a period of forty-one years, and during all that time his wise counsel and wide experience were of great value to the bank, and were freely placed at its disposal.

The French-Canadian Mayor Lavallée, of Montreal, wrote: —

The severance of this great man from mortal things is an incalculable loss not only to Canada, but to the whole of the British Empire. It is given to few men to be so revered and loved. This universal esteem, however, was the outcome of a life well spent. The world is a better world by Lord Strathcona having lived in it. He was not only a brilliant man, but a kindly and charitable one. Great as was his position in the Empire, he never forgot that it was not wealth and position which counted so much as sterling merit, and the forming of a character in which charity and pity for others does so much to ease the pathway of those who have little of this world's wealth and honours. To me, one of the most striking characteristics of Lord Strathcona was his natural goodness of heart — a trait that graciously broadened with the passing years.

The life of Lord Strathcona will stand out in

Canadian history as a splendid example of what self-denial, right living, and ambition can accomplish. For generations to come the young men of our country will have a glorious pattern to imitate. Canada is especially indebted to the late High Commissioner for much of the phenomenal progress it has made.

It was believed at first that his mortal remains would find fitting sepulchre in Westminster Abbey, and indeed the Dean and Chapter offered this, the greatest honour that can be given to Britain's noblest dead. But he had expressed on his death-bed a wish to sleep his eternal sleep beside his wife in the cemetery at Highgate, and this wish was respected by his family. It was, however, at the Abbey that the funeral service was performed.

Before the arrival of the body at the Abbey, Sir Frederick Bridge, who was at the organ, played an ancient and a modern lament for the dead. The first was the sonorous music composed by Purcell for the funeral of Queen Mary in 1694, and the other was Chopin's well-known "Funeral March." The great bell of the Abbey was tolling as the funeral procession drove into Dean's Yard. At the door of the West Cloisters the body was received by the Dean of Westminster, the clergy and choristers, and the pallbearers. The coffin was borne into the church hidden from view beneath the heavy folds of the Abbey pall, of deep purple velvet with an edging of silver and gold lace, and thickly strewn with lilies-of-the-valley and fern. The ten pallbearers, selected on account of their special connection with Canada or personal rela-

tionship with Lord Strathcona, were as follows: Lord Aberdeen, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Lichfield, the Very Reverend George Adam Smith (Principal of Aberdeen University), Mr. W. L. Griffith (Secretary of the Canadian High Commissioner's Office), the Duke of Argyll, the Lord Mayor, Mr. Harcourt (Colonial Secretary), Sir William Osler (Regius Professor of Medicine, Oxford), Sir Thomas Skinner (Deputy-Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company).

The chief mourners included the Honourable Mrs. Jared Bliss Howard (the present Baroness Strathcona), Mr. Howard, and their sons and daughters, Miss Smith (niece), Mrs. Grant (niece), and the Misses Grant, Lieutenant Kitson, R.N., Mr. A. May, private secretary, and Mr. James Garson, W.S., the family solicitor.

One wreath was carried behind the coffin. Composed of lilies of various kinds and heliotrope orchids, it was sent by Queen Alexandra, and attached to it was a card bearing the words, in Her Majesty's handwriting: —

In sorrowful memory of one of the Empire's kindest of men and the greatest of benefactors, from

ALEXANDRA.

After the opening sentences of the Burial Service had been read, the procession passed up the nave to the singing of "O God of Bethel," his favourite hymn, recited by him with his dying breath. The coffin was then placed on a bier beneath the Lantern, and around it six candles dimly burned.

The Dean of Westminster (Bishop Ryle) and the Precentor of the Abbey (the Reverend L. H. Nixon) officiated. Always beautiful and impressive, the Burial Service is especially solemn and uplifting in this ancient fane, with its historical associations and monuments which proclaim how great, if fleeting, is the gift of life, and how noble and enduring are the things of which mortal man is capable. The choir led the singing of the Ninetieth Psalm, after which the Dean read the lesson from I Cor. xv. The anthems were Blair's paraphrase, "How still and peaceful is the grave," to music by Tye, and Goss's "I heard a voice," followed by the burial prayers which were read by the Precentor. Very touching was the singing of the calming and consoling hymn, "Now the labourer's task is o'er." Finally, after the Benediction, when the funeral procession, with the coffin, left the Abbey, the "Dead March" in "Saul" was played, conveying its high, impassioned sense of the dignity of death.

The coffin, covered with beautiful wreaths, was placed in a glass-framed motor-hearse, which was followed by about a dozen motor-cars with the relatives and other chief mourners. No horses, either ridden or driven, were to be seen in the procession. It went by Upper Grosvenor Street, Park Lane, Grosvenor Gardens, and Victoria Street. The blinds of many of the houses along the route were drawn. In Victoria Street the offices of the High Commissioner of Canada, the scene of so many activities of Lord Strathcona, were closed, and over the door hung the Union Jack at half-mast.

Highgate Cemetery

The funeral proceeded to Highgate Cemetery by Whitehall, Trafalgar Square, Charing Cross Road, Tottenham Court Road, and Hampstead Road. The vault in which Lady Strathcona was buried lies at the northern end of the burial-ground, a pleasantly situated corner almost within the shadow of the trees of Waterlow Park. Here a large number of people gathered behind the barrier of ropes which marked off the space roundabout the graveside. Before the arrival of the hearse and procession of motor-cars, which reached the cemetery shortly after one o'clock, carriages were continually driving up laden with wreaths which had been brought direct from Grosvenor Square. These were so disposed as to form a beautiful floral hedge enclosing the boarded and carpeted space where the Burial Service was read. Those who sent wreaths, in addition to Queen Alexandra, were Princess Louise and the Duke of Argyll, the Duchess of Albany, Prince and Princess Alexander of Teck, the Landgraf of Hesse, the Prime Minister of Canada and Mrs. Borden, and the Dominion Government. The white enamelled walls of the vault had been hung by the cemetery authorities with festoons of laurel and wreaths of lilies.

The service at the graveside was marked by the same simplicity as the proceedings in the Abbey. The chief mourners stood around the vault, while those who had driven from the Abbey, including the Duke of Argyll and Lord Aberdeen, were grouped behind them. The committal portion of the Church of England service was read by the

Reverend Archibald Fleming, of St. Columba's (Church of Scotland), Pont Street, with the addition of special prayers taken from the Church of Scotland Order. The coffin was finally lowered into the grave and placed beside the body of Lady Strathcona, with the two wreaths sent by members of the family reposing upon it.

It was not a state, nor yet a public, funeral. With all the greatness he had attained, Donald Alexander Smith was a simple and homely man; and it was the desire of his family that his burial should be in keeping with his character, as private and devoid of show as possible. Accordingly Lord Strathcona had been borne to his tomb without pomp, but otherwise with many marks of honour, national and Imperial, befitting the obsequies of one who had given his long life to the enrichment of the Empire and the knitting-together of its strength.

Nor were manifestations of mourning on the part of the general community lacking. The public — to whom Lord Strathcona appealed as a wonderful veteran of ninety-four serving his country almost to the last hour of his long life — paid such tributes of respect to his memory as were in their power. They crowded the unreserved spaces of the Abbey, filling the great nave. They assembled at various points of the way from the Abbey to Highgate, and reverently uncovered and in silence saluted the coffin as it passed them by.

CHAPTER XXVII

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

It is perhaps unexampled in history for the life of a single individual to coincide at so many points with the life of a nation as does Lord Strathcona's with that of Canada. The date of his birth is so remote as almost to take us back to the reign of that monarch to whom New France surrendered and for whose sake the United Empire Loyalists made their immortal sacrifice. He came to Canada in the very first year of Queen Victoria's accession and at a crucial moment in our history. Lord Durham's mission marks a new constitutional epoch; the subject of these pages was himself an eye-witness of the events which the famous pro-consul reported. His activities were intimately connected first with the Far East and then with the Far West. He began his political career soon after the Dominion of Canada was born. He saw the genesis of Manitoba and was her first representative. He was concerned in the creation or the supreme control of some of Canada's greatest institutions, — the fur-trade, the bank system, and the railways. He was largely instrumental in peopling the West and in educating the East. He saw the growth of Canada's first period of great prosperity, to which his own efforts had in full measure contributed, and he died on the eve of a new era when our people, stimulated by his teach-

ing and his example, sanctified forever by thousands of lives and millions of money the bond which binds them to the British Empire.

At the public meeting of the citizens of Montreal in 1900, which resulted in the erection of the Strathcona Monument in Dominion Square, he told his hearers that he could then look back on more than sixty years of work in Canada. Yet, as Sir William Peterson reminds us: —

Already for some time past, he had held his high office as the nation's representative in London — an office which would have sufficed in itself, even apart from his great personality, to mark him out as one of the most distinguished citizens of the Empire. But it was easy to see that at the root and foundation of the high position he had won lay the long years of preparation for it. From his native Scotland he had taken to Labrador all the best results of a careful home training, which revealed itself in the remarkable rapidity with which he rose to the very top in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. When the call to action came to him in connection with the trouble in the North-West, it found him a resolute and experienced man of affairs, who knew the hearts of others as they knew his. Then came the period of service at Ottawa and Montreal, which completed his preparation, and gave him such a place in the esteem and affection of his fellow-countrymen that none but he could be looked to when there was a need for some one to take up the rôle of Canadian representative in London.

To quote Mr. Austen Chamberlain: —

He was a splendid illustration of the opportunities which the British Empire affords to its sons and of the

use the best of them can make of those opportunities. With no advantages of birth or fortune, he made himself one of the great outstanding figures of the Empire. He made a great fortune, but what was more, he used it nobly, not for himself, but for his country and his Empire. He did more than make a fortune. He helped to make a great nation, the greatest of our sister nations over the seas, and to encourage in that nation a larger patriotism which, abating not one jot of its own local spirit, can yet impress the Empire as a whole, can think Imperially and place Imperial interests before any local interests, however important at the moment they may seem. Such a life is an example to us all; we must resolve that the great lesson which Lord Strathcona's life taught shall be learned by us all, and that each, according to his means and in his own capacity, will be a true and faithful servant, as Lord Strathcona was, of the country which bred him and the Empire of which he was a citizen.

In the years immediately preceding his death, his great age, his venerable aspect, his high Imperial reputation, his personal rank and vast wealth, combined with his official status as Canada's representative to make of him a central and commanding figure at Imperial gatherings. Never did he shirk the least duty when his presence or his counsel seemed needed in Canada's interests. Commenting on his maxim that patience and work were the best prescription for health, one of his friends writes: —

To patience and work there was added this: that he was serving others, not striving, working, planning for himself, but bearing a responsibility of office, of

authority, and as so often happens, finding stability under that burden.

Vast as his wealth was, his sense of responsibility kept him a constant servant to the public interest as it also kept him from devising fantastic and pretentious systems of expenditure whose final utility, even as means of commemoration, is questionable.

To quote again the Principal of McGill University: —

He carved out his career in the heroic days of Canadian history, — when individual pioneers were privileged to write their names in large characters across the whole breadth of a continent. And after all he was no mere sordid seeker after gain, nor did his material prosperity ever blunt the edge of his moral and social ideas and aspirations. In a word, his soul was not submerged, as is sometimes unfortunately the case, by the gathering tide of worldly success. Duty was his guiding star — duty and conscience. We ought to be glad, too, — ought we not? — in our day and generation, that Canada can boast of him as a man of unspotted integrity. His word was as good as his bond. But he carefully weighed nearly every word he uttered, and most certainly every word he ever wrote. None could apply the pruning-knife more remorselessly than he to the language of any document for which he was expected to make himself in any way responsible. He was above everything accurate even in the use of words. I fancy he had done most of his reading in early life when in the long silence of Labrador he acquired that stock of ideas, and that power of expression, which stood him in such

good stead when he had to address himself, comparatively late in life, to the difficult art of public speaking.[1] And he could appreciate a telling phrase, or the pointed turn of a sentence. I remember when he asked me to supply him with a Latin motto for his new coat of arms, which had hitherto contained the one English word "Perseverance." When I enquired what idea he would like to have expressed, he half-whispered, "In the van." I gave him "Agmina ducens," and there it stands to-day. And yet, for all his eagerness to be "in the van," one can never think of him as anything but essentially modest and unassertive. You all know what his bearing was on the various occasions on which he was seen in our midst, — inwardly glad, no doubt, to receive the homage of our love and praise, but genuinely anxious at the same time that no one should be put to any inconvenience because of him. And all the qualities of which he gave evidence in public were familiar to those who knew him in his home. The death of his wife, but ten short weeks before his own, was naturally the greatest sorrow of his whole life. One who saw much of him at the time has told me how it seemed to shake his soul to its depths, and thereafter he was as a stricken man. The friends who met the aged pair on the occasion of their last visit to Montreal will recall some of the instances of the kindly humour that always characterized their intercourse with each other; and it is a satisfaction

[1] "I have heard him," writes the Reverend Dr. Robert Campbell, of Montreal, "on several occasions speak of the manner in which he spent the long winter nights in Labrador, when he had books only for his companions. He used to laugh when he mentioned the variety of reading matter found in the Post's library, and of the necessity he was under to wade through some not very attractive books, for lack of anything more interesting to occupy his mind with."

to remember, now that they are both gone, that through their loving and devoted daughter their lineage is continued in the third generation.

Lord Strathcona lived a strenuous and a useful life, characterized by courage and high resolve in critical and anxious times. He always showed that he could "rise to the height of great occasions." Alongside of that should be placed the continuous response of constant applications for public and private charity, to which his resources were fortunately adequate, — a charity that was never exercised, be it remembered, in mechanical fashion, but always with some personal touch of kindly courtesy and consideration. Even in his latest days he was thinking of what he could do for others: and it ought to be mentioned here that, evidently remembering of his own accord a certain payment which he was in the habit of making to the Royal Victoria College about the time of the New Year, he cabled me the sum of forty-five thousand dollars, on the very day before he died. He was given to hospitality; and his Montreal home was long a recognized place of meeting for many who, under the divided conditions of our civil life, seldom met anywhere else. He was full of the conviction that in our province French and English must perforce agree to live together, for the very good reason that here neither of the two races can live without the other.

While thus his personal motto was "in the van," he never failed to give full credit to others in the Canadian Pacific Railway and other great enterprises in which he was identified. Albeit non-partisan, he "heartily sympathized with Mr. Chamberlain's idea that our Empire should become more

conscious of itself. The late Chancellor's contribution to education constituted no mere stereotyped or conventional form of benevolence. In scientific, medical, and higher education for women he was a pioneer with a marked power of initiative which had been felt all over Canada. He was no sordid seeker after gain, nor did material prosperity ever blunt the edge of his moral and social ideals and aspirations. In a word, his soul was not submerged by the gathering tide of worldly success. A man of unspotted integrity throughout his long career, he measured up to Aristotle's definition of 'high-mindedness.'"

And truly no reader of the *Ethics*, bearing Lord Strathcona in mind, but must be struck by the remarkable appositeness of many passages in which the Greek philosopher dwells upon the virtues of "high-mindedness" (μεγαλοψυχία) and "munificence" (μεγαλοπρέπεια). So apposite are they that I offer no apology for recalling them here.

Munificence [he says] differs from Liberality in the largeness of the sums with which it deals. Its general characteristic is magnitude; but this must be in relation to three things: — the person who gives, the circumstances of the gift, and its object. Hence every munificent man is liberal, but not every liberal man is munificent. The vice or defect is Meanness. The vice of Excess, which we describe as Bad Taste and Vulgarity, errs not in the greatness of the amount spent, but in the inappropriateness in different ways of the expenditure. There is a sort of scientific skill implied in Munificence. This is needed to decide under what

various circumstances, as they actually occur (for action is the only real test of disposition in this as in other Virtues), great expenditure is befitting and appropriate. The occasion must be worthy of the expenditure, and the expenditure of the occasion. There must also be the same motive as in all the other virtues, viz., the desire for what is noble. Again, the munificent act must be done cheerfully and ungrudgingly: there must be no close calculations; no considerations of "How much, or how little will it cost?" but rather, "What will be the grandest and most appropriate way of doing it?" And hence the munificent man will necessarily be liberal also; but besides the mere grandeur of the amount spent, there is a grandeur of manner which imparts a special lustre to the acts of a munificent man beyond what would be achieved by mere liberality even with the same expenditure. For a work and a possession are not to be estimated in the same way. In the latter case there is only a question of intrinsic value; in the former, we must take into consideration the grandeur and the moral effect produced on the beholders.

As to the occasions which are fitting for the display of Munificence [Aristotle notices] first, the service of religion, and next, great public or patriotic services. In all these cases, however, regard must be had to the social position, and to the means of the doer, as well as the work done. It would be out of place for a man of small or moderate means to aspire to be munificent. It is a virtue reserved for those of great wealth, inherited or acquired, good birth, high station, and so forth.

Without merit they cannot form the ground of that self-esteem which constitutes High-mindedness, nor

again can they justify the superciliousness in which their possessors ape the high-minded. Unlike him they have no superior merit to warrant that feeling, nor discrimination in its exercise. The High-minded man will not court danger, but if it be great and worthy of him, he will face it without regard to his life, which he does not think worth preserving at the cost of honour. He loves to confer and is ashamed to receive benefits, and he hastens to requite them with increase. He is reluctant to ask a favour, though ready to confer one. With great men he carries his head high, while with ordinary men he is unaffected. He is no gossip: he is a man of few words, sparing alike in his praise and in his reproaches. His gait, his voice and his manner of speech will be grave, dignified, and deliberate. Such is the High-minded man.[1]

To the judgment of many of his contemporaries already given it is fitting that some recollections of his traits and habits of daily life, by those closely in touch with him, should be added.

Miss Hurlbatt, Warden of Victoria College, writes: —

I knew him only as a very old man, always with a certain detachment of manner, as if he had already passed some boundaries of time and space beyond his fellows, and while occupied and keenly interested and ceaselessly concerned with work and duty and service, really alone with himself. Perhaps he was always like this — utterly master of himself and of his fate. The early years of discipline and loneliness may have worked this in him. Certain it is that whatever he had suffered of "fret and dark and thorn and chill" had

[1] Aristotle, *Ethics*, translated by the Reverend E. Moore.

with him "banked in the current of the will" to uses, arts, and charities.

Vividly does Miss Hurlbatt recall her first interview with him: —

I found him in his office in Victoria Street, as he has been seen by so many who came to him from far and near, seated by his desk in a very bare and unpretentious room, in an attitude with which I was to become familiar, and which has been characteristically recorded for us by Mr. Robert Harris in the portrait that hangs in our Hall, one hand holding his chair, the other resting on his knee, an attitude that with many people would suggest relaxation and would be an attitude of repose — with him, as you will have noticed, it was compatible with alertness and a keen concentration upon any affair at the moment in hand. This attitude, apart from his white hairs and venerable expression, was the only thing which suggested age — it was as if he gave his body rest that his mind should be more free and have the use of all his force. . . .

I think that then, and whenever I have since met him, I was conscious that his voice was a revelation of his personality; in an almost startling way it betrayed in an instant the man. It was resonant, far-reaching, almost hard in the way every word and every inflection was sent out to reach its purpose, every word conveying a sense of power behind it. His voice was even and exact — and it was so when it was kindest and most gentle, and even when other signs betrayed that he spoke with a sense of amusement.

I cannot do better than describe a certain characteristic incident in Miss Hurlbatt's own words.

It reveals the tender relationship existing between Lord Strathcona and his wife.

On a winter's morning at Euston Station, London, as our train was leaving for Liverpool, I caught sight of a rather alarming scene that had a touching sequel. The train was due to start, the guard's whistle had been blown, but there was a moment's pause and Lord Strathcona was seen hurrying up the platform and mounting the train as it began to move, and there behind on the platform was the figure of Lady Strathcona supported by four strong arms, lifting her from her feet, so that she could see into the window of the carriage and wave her farewell. The pathos of that figure I shall not soon forget. I had many opportunities on the voyage of hearing from Mr. Garson, Lord Strathcona's Scottish agent, and who counted Lady Strathcona as his dear friend, of the anxiety and loneliness that these great undertakings and sudden partings and absences caused her, how Lord Strathcona wished always to have her with him, but how she shrank from the journeys. It was said that when Lord Strathcona decided upon his last visit to Canada in September, 1913, she again wished to remain behind, until he gently suggested that perhaps there might be for him no returning. That was enough, and we know how she came on that last lightning visit, an almost miraculous effort at their age.

All those who were brought into close touch with him in his later years bear witness to the same traits of character which his old fur-trading associates had long since noted.

His insistence [writes Dr. Wilfred Grenfell, the famous Labrador missionary] on the greatness of

little things never failed to impress those who came in contact with him, and this was combined with his distrust of conventions, and emphasis on the reliability of plain common sense. I long ago realized how he came to be possessed of that secret of greatness, and faculty of arriving quickly at correct conclusions, unsurpassed even by a Sherlock Holmes.

As a tiny illustration of this, once at breakfast the lamp under the hot-water kettle had gone out. The butler, apologizing, said he had forgotten to put any spirits into it. Without the slightest display of anger, but like a man insisting on some great universal principle, our host said quietly, "Remember, James, you have only certain duties to perform. This is one. Never, under any circumstances, let such an omission occur again." Whatever that dignified official got out of it, I learned a truth of no small value. In my own craft of surgery, the omission of some apparently trifling detail — and it is equally true of ordinary business — might at any time cause irreparable disaster. One of the chief reasons why the Turks, though a virile race of physical fighters, are unable to hold their own, is because they make "Fate" or "Kismet" responsible for their failures and neglect.

About twenty years ago Dr. Grenfell arrived in Montreal just before Christmas Day, anxious to get an early appointment with Lord Strathcona.

He himself was overwhelmed with engagements and it seemed impossible for him to give the time we sought, and it looked as if we would have to go away without seeing him. It was entirely characteristic of his courtesy, however, that he should have replied to our request, that if we would come on Christmas Day,

he would be able to give us the time we desired; but when we noticed that he had appointed Hudson's Bay House for the rendezvous on that day, we were a little surprised. When we found it, it was away downtown, and a purely business place, and we knew that, of course, all the employees would be away keeping the holiday. I still remember vividly the deserted streets, so impressive in the big busy centre: the silence and the entire absence, even on the streets, of any living thing, and at last the great, towering portals of the world-famous Company's offices. I climbed the steps with no little trepidation, and the bell startled me, when its echoes rang out, as if in some long-deserted haunt of men. Finally, the great door swung open, and there stood, quite alone, the smiling old gentleman, already white-haired, positively apologizing for keeping me waiting. "There's no one in the house," he began, "so I have to answer the door myself." Our amazement at seeing him there at all on that day was so badly disguised that he went on to explain that the famous physician, Sir Andrew Clark, had more than once warned him that to stop work would be fatal to him, and that he realized it was true.

When we went in, he was opening letters from an almost endless pile. "These are all requests for help," he went on. "I like to deal with them personally when I can get time, but I have calculated that if I granted them all, I should n't have a single cent left."

On one occasion he was asking me about old Labrador acquaintances, and as it was then fifty years since he had left the coast, it might have been expected that, with all his multiplicity of interests, he would long before have forgotten the individuals. He happened to ask after a certain woman who had been his

servant so many years before. I told him that she had long ago passed away, but that her daughter, who was married and had a very large family, had often spoken of her mother's connection with him. He asked how she was faring with so many children, but appeared to take very little notice when I told him that the family were having hard times. However, the next time I visited that part of Labrador, I heard that he had sent a special Labrador order of pork, flour, molasses, butter, and many outfits of clothing for herself and the children. The method of accomplishing this was to us just another demonstration of his greatness. To this day the woman is wondering "where on earth that winter's diet, and all that clothing could have come from."

My last interview with him was just before his death. He had come to the office of the Hudson's Bay Company for the discussion of a new policy. While we lunched, he sat and talked. There was hardly a line on his face, and every faculty was on the alert. He had come down, in spite of the doctor's orders not to leave the house, to hear what I had to say about Labrador. One of his first enquiries was after the little hospital steamer, which for so many years had borne his name on the coast. He was concerned to hear that her boilers had blown out, and that she was laid up owing to the lack of the necessary funds to replace them. It seems almost superfluous to say that he at once ordered them to be replaced at his expense, so as to make the ship as efficient as possible, and the day after I received a letter to confirm his wishes.

A gap of two years had elapsed since I had last seen Lord Strathcona, and even then he was ninety years of age, and one might have supposed that, so long after

the allotted span of threescore years and ten, a man whose life had been spent under such strenuous circumstances must be verifying the words of the psalmist, and finding his days "but labour and sorrow." Not so, however, with this man. So far as his keen interest in life was concerned, his natural force seemed in no way abated. He still found his greatest pleasure in a full day's work, and when the day itself had gone, the same sufficient satisfaction in the company of the long-time partner of his life — and of their family.

This time, however, a blind man could realize a vast difference in his attitude toward the world. The same interest, the same courage, but no longer the same man. He seemed to me like one of the great solitary rocks of our barren coast, which, from time immemorial, far out in the wide ocean, during the season of open water, has raised its head above the gigantic rollers of the Atlantic, and in winter, towered over the resistless grinding of the Atlantic field ice.

Alone left of his generation, Lord Strathcona seemed now to me to loom up as just such another wonder. The discussion on the business which had brought us together had come to an end. We were thinking of saying good-bye, when suddenly he leaned over toward me and said, "You will let me know about the boilers for the hospital ship? See that they are done as well as they can be and come and see me before you go back to Labrador." The word seemed involuntarily to have carried his thought back to the long-ago scenes of that country where first he had met the wife whom he had loved so truly. It seemed to me that his white head bent a little lower, as he added, "Doctor, a terrible blow has come to me since you were here last, — terrible! terrible!" he repeated.

The next reference which we saw to our old friend was the public despatch in the newspaper telling of his death, and that he was to find a last resting-place in the Abbey, the Valhalla of the nation's mighty dead. But later came the news that his wishes were to be respected, and that the personal honour, so much coveted by many, found no echo in this great man's life. He had chosen to sleep his last long sleep by the side of her he loved so well. So even in death he has left the nation a better legacy than silver and gold, in reminding us again of the greatest of all secrets of the greatest of all lives — the possession, not of money, but of the spirit of simple love.

In religious matters he was truly catholic: and in his religious benefactions favoured in turn Roman, Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian.[1]

Dr. Archibald Fleming, of the London Presbyterian Church of St. Columba's, with which church Lord Strathcona and his family were long connected, thus pays his tribute to one who was "a great benefactor of our church in London": —

I wish to speak of him as I knew him — a humble Christian and a deeply religious man. Lord Strathcona was a loyal and generous son of the Church of Scotland; and almost with his last breath he told me — as he had often done before — how deep was his

[1] Once in giving a donation of one thousand pounds to a Roman Catholic institution he wrote: "Whilst I am personally more connected with the Protestant Church and institutions of the country, not the less have I a warm feeling for the fellow-citizens of other denominations, including the Catholics, both English- and French-speaking, and I would gladly, as far as possible, aid them in their efforts for higher education."

affection for her simple worship, and how he valued her ordinances most of all.

But in saying this he added — and, speaking as one who was delivering a testimony, he bade me repeat it to others — that in his long life he had learned a great toleration, and had come to realize that God reveals Himself to his faithful people by the lips of all the churches; for it had been his experience that he could receive benefit from them all; so that to him, denominational distinctions, and even the distinction between Protestant and Roman, almost ceased to exist in view of the great elemental truths which all, according to their ability, strove to represent; the "Good and Great Creator" could and would reveal Himself somehow to us through them all. Such was the wide sweep of this great man's spiritual vision, and such the large charity of his great heart.

In other words, Lord Strathcona's religion was vital rather than technical.

"To be religious in the technical sense of the word," Mr. A. C. Benson remarks somewhere, "to care for religious services and solemnities, for priestly influence, for intricate doctrinal emotions, implies a strong artistic sense and is often far removed from any simplicity of conduct. But the simple man will have a strong sense of responsibility — a deep confidence in the will of God and his high purpose."

In private life he was a most engaging host.

He does not [testified a visitor fifteen years ago] greatly care for personal talk. He is too self-contained and too watchful to be drawn out. Control and a sort

of lofty prudence are expressed by his bearing and by the intrepid look in his eyes. He carries with him the atmosphere that surrounds all men who have dwelt long in solitude. His favourite attitude when conversing is a strong folding of the arms and a downward, pondering look. His hair is now snow-white; his skin is fresh, and about him there is a pleasant vigour that is wonderful for his eighty years. His talk is bright, and he is equally at home in American, Canadian, or English politics. There is not a financial movement of importance anywhere in the world that he is uninformed upon, and his gallery of acquaintances and friends is of amazing extent and variety, from the clerk at some outlandish post of the Hudson's Bay Company to the King of England.

He was [relates Sir Thomas Shaughnessy] the soul of hospitality, loved to have people about him as his guests, spared no effort or expense to contribute to their comfort and pleasure, and in his dealings with his fellow-men he was a model of courteous consideration. He never forgot his old friends.

"A model of courteous consideration" expresses but the exact truth.

The one thing that lives in my memory of one night is not the singing of the great diva, Patti, but the courtesy of Lord Strathcona, as long after midnight, hatless and coatless, his white hair resplendent in the bright electric light, he insisted on standing out in the cold night wind, seeing his guests personally into their carriages, and finally sending us, strangers from a far-away country, back to the hotel in a carriage.[1]

[1] Dr. Wilfred Grenfell, C.M.G.

His Later Reading

The last forty years of his life were so entirely given up to affairs that he had little or no time for the reading of books. But he was a close and discerning reader of the newspapers. He showed a considerable familiarity with the standard authors whose works he had studied in his youth. Amongst the novelists, after Scott, he had a relish for Dickens, whom besides he much esteemed as a man. On the approach of the centenary of Dickens's birth, he was much moved when I told him that certain descendants of the great novelist were in necessitous circumstances, owing to the nature of the laws affecting literary property. "Of course," he said, "we must help them. That would be the best way to celebrate the Dickens Centenary."[1]

Lord Lytton had not been one of his favourite authors (he recalled in his younger days having read *The Last Days of Pompeii*); he rather knew him as a statesman and especially as Colonial Secretary. But when he leased Knebworth, the ancestral seat of the Lyttons,[2] the association of the famous author and his gifted son had a genuine interest for him. But the old-world beauty of

[1] Not only did he become one of the first subscribers to the Fund, which exceeded ten thousand pounds, but later undertook its investment in Canada at a higher guaranteed rate of interest than was obtainable by us in England.

[2] The present Lord Lytton writes: "During the latter years of his life, Lord Strathcona, in spite of his great age, was incessantly on the move. While he was at Knebworth he would come down by a special train after dining in town and return to London at nine o'clock next morning. At other times he would motor down from London on a Sunday for the day, returning the same evening. He was the most active man for his age that I have ever met."

Knebworth was its greatest charm. He and Lady Strathcona used on special occasions to receive their guests in the great hall, with its groined roof and stained-glass windows, whence the visitors passed out into the gardens beyond, where a band usually discoursed sweet music. During the intervals a couple of pipers of the Scots Guards marched up and down the paths playing the bagpipes. Tea was served in a large marquee and at small tables dotting the incomparable lawn. The valuable pictures and objects of art in the state rooms on the first floor of the house, he took pleasure in showing, as also Queen Elizabeth's chair in a gallery overlooking the hall. But he loved most to walk about in the gardens and converse with his friends.[1]

To a former colleague

KNEBWORTH HOUSE, STEVENAGE HERTS,
May 12th, 1907.

To-day is quite a summer day, bright and warm, and the grounds are looking very beautiful. A letter from our old friend puts me in mind of other days like this, long, long ago — at North-West River, Esquimaux

[1] He once told me he shared my partiality to dwellings having historical and personal associations. When he and his daughter, the present Lady Strathcona, paid a visit to me at Westerham in 1910, he evinced the deepest interest in the scene of Wolfe's boyhood and the relics there assembled. A day or two later he wrote me a letter which I cherish, referring to this visit.

When I last saw him in the spring of 1913 he said, "So you are going to live in the old home of Haliburton. It ought to be a fine inspiration for you. Haliburton was a very brilliant writer" — adding significantly, — "*and his mother was a Grant of Strathspey!*"

Bay, and later at "Silver Heights" — only there the peace was invaded sadly by such pests as mosquitoes and black flies.

Many years ago he invited a large and distinguished party of tourists, including two Continental princes, to dine and pass the night at "Silver Heights" on their way through to the West. Accommodation being scanty it was necessary to add a series of bedrooms to the house and otherwise to improvise domestic arrangements. The notice was brief: a force of workmen was engaged, materials were hastily shipped from St. Paul, but although the work was pressed forward at high speed, the night of the party arrived and the bedrooms were not quite finished. The guests were dined at the club in Winnipeg, a large staff of waiters having been put into a strange livery for the occasion, and dinner was protracted until a late hour, in order to give the carpenters and furnishers time to put on the finishing touches to "Silver Heights." In fact it was after midnight when a welcome telephone message reached Sir Donald to say that his guests could start for the house. By that time several were overcome with sleep and perhaps an excess of hospitality! There was no doubt whatever as to the condition of the carriage drivers: they were intoxicated to a man. However, all were finally got to Sir Donald's roof, and none, surveying their sumptuous sleeping-quarters, could have had the slightest suspicion that the whole had risen like a mushroom in the course of a few

hours. Unhappily, the host, having seen the company to bed, found that he had reckoned without himself: there was neither bedroom nor bed for his repose. Weary with his efforts, in which anxiety had played no small part, he flung himself into a chair and slept till morning.

Sir Sandford Fleming relates that once, being in the train with a fishing party, Lord Strathcona invited all to dine and sojourn with him for the night at his fishing-lodge at Matapedia, which had formerly belonged to the Marquess of Lorne and the Princess Louise.

Next morning, wishing to be abroad early to join a friend, I dressed hastily and descended the stairs in the half-light. On the bottom stair my feet touched a figure, which sprang up, and I recognized my host. Though he smiled genially and bade me good-morning and was full of solicitude, I knew he had been asleep all night on that bottom stair, having given up his bedroom either to me or to some other of the party.

Reflecting [continued Sir Sandford] upon my long acquaintance of over forty years with Lord Strathcona, and remembering so many traits of his quiet benevolence, I think one may say of him that he was a man whose greatest happiness was in making others happy.

When I in turn related Sir Sandford's anecdote to a well-known statesman in England, he exclaimed: —

Count upon the fingers of your hand the great men of the age who could have done that! Can you see Cecil Rhodes crouching all night on that bottom stair? Can you see Pierpont Morgan or Rockefeller?

Power combined with humility — it is as rare as it is irresistible!

He was, as has been aptly said, "studiously careless" about his health. His chief affliction was colds, and it is a wonder that these did not, through his imprudences, lead to serious illness.

An old Montreal friend, Mr. C. R. Hosmer, recalls a typical incident which happened nearly twenty years ago.

Lord Strathcona was declared to be very ill and threatened with pneumonia. His private car at the time was ordered in readiness for Florida. He learned suddenly that his presence might be useful in Winnipeg, where the Manitoba School Question had come to the front. Without saying a word to his doctor or to anybody, he ordered his car to be attached to the Winnipeg train and off he went. Lady Strathcona was greatly alarmed and came to my office next morning. I was then General Manager of the Canadian Pacific Railway Telegraphs. We found out that he was as far as the north side of Lake Superior at the time and it was thirty degrees below zero there. The night after he arrived in Winnipeg he gave a banquet to the Bishop of St. Boniface. Later, when he returned, I spoke to him of how deeply concerned, not to say alarmed, Lady Strathcona had been. He smiled and said, "Yes, I remember that cold morning; I had to break the ice in the pitcher when I got up."

Yet of the seasons he loved winter best. He liked to look out upon a world bathed in sunshine — a world in which the trees sparkled with frost, and the air exhilarated like wine. It was then he

would oftenest exclaim, "What a beautiful day, what glorious weather!" Once he said to a guest, Mr. William Garson, "It has been said that power, that empire came from the north. Northern people have always stood for courage and unconquerability. They have the muscle, the wholesomeness of life, the strength of will. In Canada we have upon the whole, the best climate in the world. Our winters may be cold, but think of the dry and exhilarating atmosphere, which makes for health and every sort of alertness. Those who are accustomed to the North might taste a little experience of the South, and the South might drop in upon the North once in a while, doubtless with mutual advantage."

His London house was at first number 53 Cadogan Square, and afterwards 28 Grosvenor Square. But he long considered his real home as at Montreal. His Dorchester Street mansion always continued as if its owner was in residence. He had there a collection of pictures containing examples of Raphael, Titian, Turner, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Romney, Millais, Rosa Bonheur, Constable, Constant, Alma Tadema, and other painters. One work of art which he was fond of showing was unique in its way. It was a carving done by Esquimaux of the remoter North, and presented by them to Lady Strathcona. It shows a portion of an Esquimaux village, huts covered with snow, sledges, and a kayak. Men and women are very cleverly modelled, while a fox, a penguin, and a willow grouse are carved in walrus ivory. The whole

production is executed very prettily, and testifies to the artistic capacity inherent in those natives of the Arctic regions.

When his lease of Knebworth expired, he purchased Debden Hall in Essex. In 1905, he had acquired the famous Black Corries estate of Glencoe, one of the finest grouse and deer preserves in the Highlands, to add to his other property there.

Black Corries formerly belonged to the chiefs of Glencoe, but passed from the representatives of the massacred Macdonalds after the rising of '45. It extends to Rannoch and Black Mount, a distance of some twenty-five miles, and adjoins the estate of Sir John Stirling Maxwell, M.P., Sir W. Menzies, Lord Breadalbane, and others. The famous massacre that inspired Macaulay's reference took place in 1691. That the character of the scenery suggests dark deeds is confirmed by Dickens, who described this part of Argyllshire as "perfectly terrible." It was not so to him.

In London, Lord Strathcona was a familiar figure at the Athenæum Club in Pall Mall, which may be called the centre of British culture. Here he met some of the most eminent figures of the day, and in one of its handsome dining-rooms he delighted to gather together distinguished men to meet Canadians of high rank on a visit to the Mother Country.

As a public speaker he was solid rather than brilliant, although there are passages in his speeches of real eloquence. He had formed himself on the best models and within his self-appointed bounda-

ries was always fluent and self-possessed. As an example of his manner, which was rarely ironical or patronizing, it may be recalled that on one occasion, in 1887, Mr. Edward Blake made merry over Sir Donald Smith's glowing picture of the future North-West. The member for Montreal rose and remarked gravely: —

> The leader of the Opposition is very facetious, very facetious, indeed. He spoke in a vein of engaging pleasantry, and I am sure we were all delighted to see him so condescend. Will he permit me to tell him that I think he would live more and more in the affections of his fellow-citizens if he would more frequently exhibit that milk of human kindness, that sympathy for his fellow-men, and that love of his country which is due from every one who is a citizen of Canada?[1]

Although he scarcely ever in his life was known to utter a too forcible expression, on at least one occasion he acquiesced in one. It was after the stormy campaign in 1880, in which he was defeated for Parliament by the late Colonel Scott. On the day of the election one of the Hudson's Bay Company employees named Cole, who had involved himself in many election bets, each of which had to be sealed by a drink, awoke from a doze in the open air to find his revered candidate, Mr. Smith, approaching. Cole staggered to his feet, and after a profuse exchange of courtesies, enquired how the election had gone. When the painful truth that he had been ignominiously defeated had been dragged

[1] *Parliamentary Debates.*

from the member, his supporter's rage knew no bounds.

"The scoundrels!" he cried, "the —— —— —— scoundrels!"

The defeated member rubbed his hands and nodded his head benignantly. "Are they not, Mr. Cole?" he exclaimed; "are they not?"

In the closing years his voice failed him in attempting to reach large assemblages.

"I shall always remember the last Dominion Day dinner which I attended," recalls a well-known Canadian. "While the veteran statesman was speaking, although by reason of his great age his words were only audible to those at his own table, there prevailed what I can best describe as a 'mighty hush' amongst the five hundred diners. As a Canadian at my table remarked at the speech, 'Although we cannot hear it, you can bet your last dollar that it is well worth listening to by those who can.'"

He was fond of stories of his Scottish countrymen. One which pleased him highly I have heard him often repeat. A Scot was once boasting that Scotch apples were far better than the Canadian variety. "Really," exclaimed his friend, "you can't mean that!" "I do mean it," was the response; "but I must *premeese* that for my ain taste I prefer them soor and hard."

Another favourite was the naïve remark of an Indian, the *shikari* of an English titled sportsman. "He shot magnificently"; adding, "But God was merciful to the beasts."

One story told of his native town could hardly fail to delight him, although he professed incredulity. The superintendent of the Forres Sabbath School had prepared a list of questions for the junior class. Name the strongest man; the wisest man; the meekest man. Only one child, a cynical little elf she was, answered correctly: Samson, Solomon, Moses. All the others wrote or printed, according to their capabilities, opposite the queries, the name of the hero of their hearts—Lord Strathcona. There might be stronger, and wiser, and meeker men, but the junior class was not "acquainted wi' 'em."

It has been noted that he was always abstemious in his diet and latterly became more so. Frequently a friend breakfasting with him was surprised to notice that he drank both tea and coffee. Lord Strathcona explained that in his younger days, living often through necessity in small Canadian hotels, he would find the tea so bad that he would afterwards as an antidote ask for coffee. "In that way," he said, his eyes twinkling, "I got into the habit of both, so that I can't make breakfast now with only one beverage."

When he came to the High Commissionership, the duties of Secretary were being ably performed by Mr. Joseph Grose Colmer, C.M.G., and to this gentleman and his successor, Mr. William Griffith, he gave the fullest confidence and loyalty. Repeatedly, in his holograph correspondence with the Prime Minister, occur testimonials to their zeal and ability and his desire that their services should be

acknowledged in a practical manner. Even for those subordinates, who he had reason to suspect were not cordially disposed toward him, he was constantly exerting his influence, and when these were criticized or attacked he was ever offering an apology or defence. As one Minister put it to me, "Lord Strathcona regarded his staff as if they were members of his own family and could not bear to have a word said against them."

"Nothing," Mr. Colmer bears testimony, "was too insignificant for his personal attention. It was a favourite saying of his that 'what you have to do is worth doing well,' and that axiom was the keynote of his life. While not a great reader of current literature, he was essentially a well-informed man. How he acquired his knowledge was often a surprise. But he had the knack of making people whom he knew and with whom he came into contact talk on any subject which interested them and him, and in that way acquired information more or less at first hand. His memory for facts, figures, and faces was phenomenal."

A characteristic trait of Lord Strathcona was his adhesion, to an advanced period of life, to old-fashioned epistolary methods. He long shrank from the use of an amanuensis or a typewriter as a breach of courtesy; the openings and subscriptions of his letters were patterned on the old Hudson's Bay model. Even the most official or the lengthiest letter he persisted in performing by hand, at an almost incredible cost in time and patience. On one occasion at least considerable physical suffering

was involved. He had had the misfortune, twenty years before while in Scotland, to fracture one of the bones and otherwise seriously injure his right wrist, necessitating complete disablement. His arm was put in splints, and while chafing under the restraint he seized the occasion to make a voyage to Canada *viâ* New York. In transit his arm became worse, the inflammation spread, and he found himself unable to leave his berth. On his arrival at New York he was met by Sir William Van Horne, who found him in a very feverish and distressed state. Nevertheless, he insisted on accompanying his friend immediately through to Montreal, where he was induced to put himself in the care of a surgeon. What preyed upon his mind most was that he had a number of letters to answer, and in spite of his injured hand these must somehow be answered.

"But," urged his friend, "surely you can employ an amanuensis."

The proposition seemed repugnant to him.

"I 've never done such a thing," he declared emphatically. "It would give great offence, I assure you. I have always written my letters myself and I must do so now."

Albeit, after considerable expostulation, and upon a competent stenographer being produced, he consented to try the experiment.

"But at least I must sign the letters," was his stipulation. "Put the pen between my fingers, and although it will perhaps be a little difficult and painful I must certainly sign the letters myself."

So duly the letters were dictated, and when the sheets were brought to him the invalid begged to be left alone to consider them and affix his signature. A pen was fastened between two of his disengaged fingers and a bottle of ink placed on the table.

When a couple of hours later the secretary entered to take charge of the correspondence and despatch it, they found that to every letter had been added a postscript, scrawled slowly and painfully, explaining how and why the writer had been forced to depart from his lifelong practice of manuscript and apologizing for the same.

"And in each case," concludes the narrator of the anecdote, "the postscript was longer than the body of the letter!"

On one occasion, leaving London hurriedly for Glencoe with an accumulation of work, he was prevailed upon to take with him a young stenographer with whom he was personally unacquainted. Arriving at his Highland seat on Saturday evening, he looked forward to disposing of a number of pressing letters largely dealing with his various charities, so as to catch Monday morning's mail. On the Sunday morning when he mentioned his intention to the stenographer, the latter said: "Oh, but Lord Strathcona, I 'm afraid I cannot do what you ask. I have *never* worked on the Sabbath."

For a moment Lord Strathcona seemed disconcerted. Then he said quietly, "Say no more about it. Go and take a walk up the Glen."

Relieved at getting off so easily, the young man

seized hat and stick and went for a delicious stroll, which he found so alluring that he did not return until near nightfall. Weary and footsore he ate a hearty supper and retired to bed. Promptly at midnight, when he was wrapped in the soundest slumber, a thunderous knock at his door startled him. He sprang out of bed and encountered Lord Strathcona, taper in hand and a winning smile on his face.

"Come, Mr. Blank — the Sabbath is now over, and we must make haste with those letters, you know, so as to catch the morning mail."

It only remains to add that by dint of incessant industry, the morning sun had not risen *very* high over the Vale of Glencoe, when the letters were finally despatched, and Mr. Blank, a sadder and a wiser man, once more sought his couch to snatch a couple of hours' repose before breakfast.

It cannot be said that he was an easy taskmaster. Generally speaking, none in his employ held a sinecure: but at least he asked none to do that which he was not ready to do himself. And idleness was a fault he found it hardest to condone.

The main sources of Lord Strathcona's wealth have already been revealed. He left at his death a fortune of several millions, the bulk of which, after the payment of many legacies amounting to nearly a million sterling, was left in trust to his daughter, who succeeded him in the title.

Truly was it said of him: "A sound judgment and high purpose marked his great public benefactions." The total amount of his donations

exceeds a million and a half sterling. The principal are as follows: —

King Edward's Hospital Fund	£200,000
Cost of raising Strathcona's Horse	200,000
Royal Victoria College for Women, Montreal	200,000
Victoria Hospital, Montreal (with Lord Mount Stephen)	200,000
Victoria Hospital endowment	200,000
McGill University, Montreal	410,000
Yale University	100,000
Victoria Hospital (restoring after fire)	50,000
Aberdeen University	35,000
Queen's University (Kingston)	20,000

His charities of a private nature, which were incessant, were made with a kindness and sympathy which won for him much personal affection. A simple list of the recipients of his bounty would astonish by its length no less than by the character of the recipients.

A highly characteristic anecdote is related by his solicitor, Mr. Garson: —

I was running over the stubs of a cheque-book with Lord Strathcona, checking up the various items, when I came across the record of a cheque for one hundred pounds made out to a man whom I knew to be unworthy. Calling Lord Strathcona's attention to it, I expressed my surprise, but, as he made no comment, I said nothing more, and continued running through the stubs of the cheque-book.

To my amazement, I shortly came across another cheque for the same amount, made out to the same individual. This time I ventured to suggest to Lord Strathcona that the man's reputation did not justify confidence in him and that if he desired an investigation, I believed the reputation would be amply borne

out by specific evidence. I waited for a reply, but he still kept silence, and I went on looking over the stubs.

Finally, I came across a third cheque for the same amount to the order of the same individual. When I called his attention to it, he said, in his quiet way: "Well, Garson, if one in twenty is worthy —"

Upon the lesson furnished by his character in this our age, when national complacence, indolence, and luxury have had need of the fiery corrective of war, I need not dwell. Industry had with him a sleepless inward monitor. Frugality was a habit; yet conjoined to a benevolence which could never rest until those around him were happier and better. Duty was a passion. Thoroughness, a sense of personal responsibility and personal dignity, were salient traits in the character of a man ever "scorning delights to live laborious days."

Amongst ourselves, we should cherish, above and beyond all, the feeling he had for Canada — a feeling helped by the consciousness that he had assisted in her development. It was akin to that of an engineer in the powerful mechanism he has himself helped to forge and assemble, fragment by fragment, and later, with pride, beholds it tirelessly respond to his functioning.

With his last breath he served the Dominion. The people of our country have confronting them daily, in their streets and roads, their banks, their schools and hospitals, their shops, their public works, their parks, and their homesteads, even if this record of his career had never been written,

abundant reasons for holding in perpetual reverence the name — *clarum et venerabile nomen* — of STRATHCONA.

"So pass, O peaceful warrior, to thy rest,
One gentle step from service to long sleep,
And thou art with the memories that keep
A nation steadfast, loyal to the best
Her hero sons have by their lives confest." [1]

[1] Lines in the *Pall Mall Gazette* on his death.

THE END

Appendix

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY PROFITS

In the year 1914 the profit from the Fur-Trade amounted to £55,008 5*s*. 8*d*., and that from the Stores to £63,757 11*s*. 3*d*.

Farm-Land Sales, for the year ending 31st March last, comprise 26,292 acres for $572,837, an average of $21.78 per acre. Sales of Town Lots amounted to $131,170. Total sales amounted to £144,658 19*s*. 5*d*. compared with £1,507,362 for the year preceding. The balance to the credit of the Land Account is £451,928 12*s*. 10*d*.

In addition to the dividend on the Preference Capital an interim distribution of 15 per cent was made on the Ordinary Capital in January last, and a further distribution of 25 per cent is now recommended, making a total of 40 per cent for the year.

The unsold lands now in possession of the Company amount to 4,091,376 acres. (From the *Report laid before the Shareholders*, 29th June, 1914.)

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